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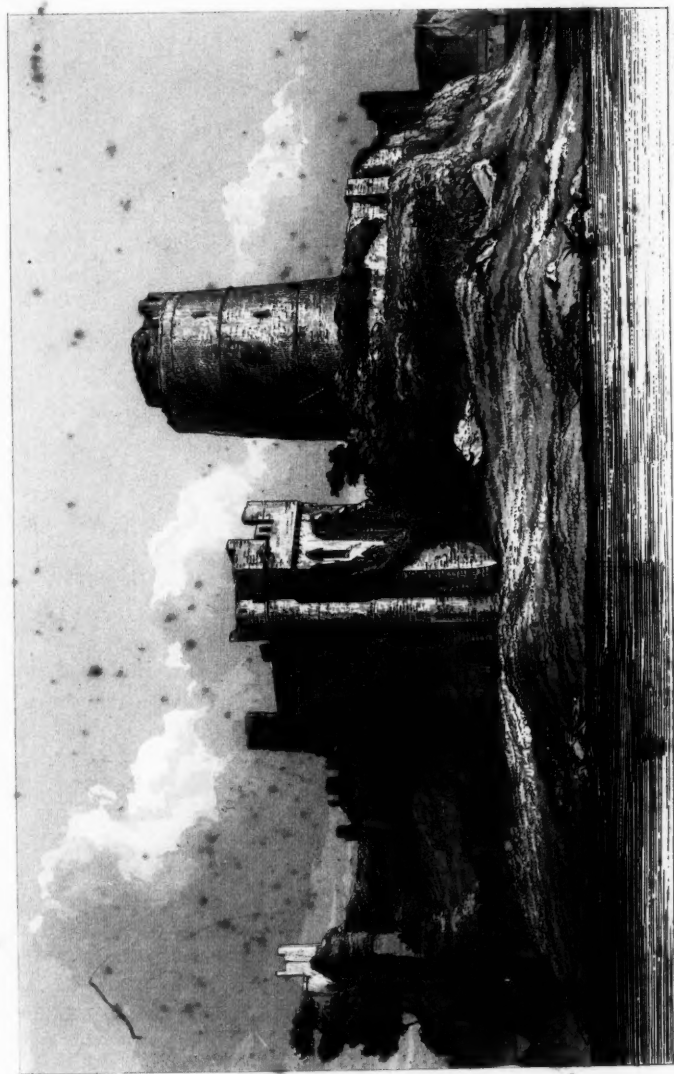
IN this Volume one of the most valuable series of papers will be found in the Account of the Earls, Earldom, and Castle of Pembroke. This supplies a *desideratum* in the History of Wales, and is deserving of the careful attention of Members.

Another important collection of papers has been begun in the Official Accounts of the Excavations on the site of URICONIUM, which promise to put antiquaries in possession of much unexpected information concerning the state of Roman Britain.

Edward Lhwyd's Letters and Papers will be continued until the collection is gone through.

Mr. Westwood's series of Observations on Early Inscribed Stones and Crosses will also for a long time be gradually conveying to Members a more accurate knowledge of the monumental history of our early forefathers. New discoveries in this department are making every year.

In other respects the Publishing Sub-Committee hope that this Volume will be considered worthy of the Association, and they have again to thank Members for their co-operation and their kindness.



J. H. Le Neve. sc.

Pembroke Castle. Exterior from N. W.

A. Salvin. del.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

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THE EARLS, EARLDOM, AND CASTLE OF PEMBROKE.

No. I.

It has but seldom happened that those families, in whose favour, in modern times, have been revived the titles of the great Norman nobles, could claim any close affinity with, or direct descent from, the distinguished warriors or statesmen by whom their original lustre was achieved. Thus it is with the Oxfords and Mortimers, the Leicesters, the Derbys, the Warwicks and Winchesters, the Staffords, the Hertfords, the Salisburys, and the Buckinghams. The earldoms of Arundel and Surrey, Norfolk and Northumberland, are indeed represented in blood, but through lines depending on more than one occasion upon the distaff for their continuity, while the representatives of the houses of Hastings, Nevill and Clinton, rare examples of pure male descent, have taken refuge in titles either of later creation, or anciently of subordinate consideration in their families. Hastings indeed commemorates in the title of Huntingdon an earldom originally held by David le Scot, heir of the throne of Scotland, whose daughter and heiress married the representative of that family.

The title of Pembroke belongs to the first of these categories, although its owners are not without illustra-

tions of their own. Those who now bear it are not connected, even irregularly, with the feudal earls.

The old earldom of Pembroke, not itself remarkable for wealth or extent, was rendered illustrious by the succession of able and powerful nobles who wore its coronet during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; and the names of Montgomery, of Clare, of Mareschal, of Valence, and of Hastings, than which none were better known among the barons of their age, were most distinguished in that branch of their families which bore successively the title of Pembroke.

The power of the Lords Marchers of Wales, to which body they belonged, was not only considerable, but it was in a measure independent of the crown. These lords held indeed under the crown, but they had "jura regalia," rights of high and low justice, of wreck, "Pren a phwll," of "tree and pit," of soc and sac, infangthef and outfingthef, and other barbarous names of yet more barbarous privileges. They had also their chancellor, chancery, and seal; their knightly vassals; and, until the reign of Henry VIII., the king's writ did not run in their territories.

Thus, 9 Edward I., Gilbert de Clare claimed to hold land in Glamorgan as his ancestors, by conquest, "sicut regale," and declined answering the royal "quo warranto" before taking counsel with his peers of England and the marchers of Wales, and 18 Edward I., he, the Earl of Hereford, and William de Braose, on the death of William de Braose, Bishop of Llandaff, claimed to hold his temporalities in their several marcher lordships. On this occasion De Clare asserted his lordship to include the whole territory of Glamorgan, (no doubt he excepted Gower,) and that he and his ancestors, except when in ward to the king, had always held the lands of the see during its vacancy. This dispute was settled in combination with the earl's marriage, by the admission and resignation of his rights, and a regrant of them to him and his countess for their lives, with reversion to the crown. (*Rolls. Plac. in Parl.* i. 42.) 19 Edward I., in the celebrated dispute which arose out of Morlais Castle, the

same Earls of Essex and Hertford claimed to have their disputes laid before their friends at a "*Dies Marchiæ*" before they brought them into the king's courts. In 21 Edward I. Fulk Fitz-Warine challenged the same right. (*Ab. Plac.* 201-31.) 30 Edward I. William de Braose claimed to be independent of the crown in Hereford and Gower, alleging that he had in Gower a chancellor, chancery, and seal, and power over life and death. (*Rot. Cur. Reg.* i. xxxi.) The Welsh bishops were also marchers. It appears from the Annals of Margam that, in 1131, there was a dispute *De jure Marchiarum*, between Bernard of St. David's, and Urban of Llandaff.

The marchers, among other privileges, had the chattels of all their tenants who died intestate. When the chattels of Sir William de Hastings were so taken, Henry III. admitted the right, but disputed its application on the ground that Sir William was a tenant *in capite*.

The marchers claimed to find silver spears for the support of the queen's canopy at a coronation, and did so provide them for Eleanor, Queen of Henry III., when they claimed, as "*Jus Marchiæ*," to bear the canopy, instead of the barons of the Cinque Ports.

No doubt, under colour of attainders and minorities, the crown not unfrequently stepped in and exercised the powers of its feudatories; but some pretext of this nature seems always to have been thought necessary. Any illegal infraction upon their privileges was always resented by the marchers, and by none more zealously, or more successfully, than the Earls of Pembroke.

The celebrated estuary of Milford Haven, running far up into the Welsh district of Dyfed, isolates from the body of the province a southern portion, which is thus converted into a sort of peninsula, accessible everywhere from the sea, intersected on the north by various branches from the Haven, and possessing a mild but moist climate, and a moderately fertile soil. This is the original district of Pembroke, a name now extended over a much larger

space. It is of Welsh origin, "Pen" designating its bold projection,

"That utmost point into the Iberian deep;"

while "Broke," "Bro," or "Braich" has long been a bone of contention among Welsh etymologists, far too nearly allied to the celebrated Wardour controversy about "Pen-val" to be approached scathless by an English antiquary. The whole tract is contained in the modern cantref or hundred of Penryne, and is itself composed of the three commotes of Pembroke, Coedrayt, and Manorbeer.—(Lel. *Itin.* v. 19.)

Of the early history of this remote subdivision of Wales very little has been recorded. Whatever may have been its advances in Christianity, or in the poetic literature of the Cwmri, fostered as is probable at least as early as the fourth century by a close intimacy with Ireland, all seems to have been swept away before the eleventh century. The peninsula lay peculiarly exposed to attacks from the sea, and appears to have suffered a full share of the piratical ravages of the Danes, who, from the middle of the eighth century, were frequent and dreaded visitors along the shores of the Bristol Channel, invading Dyfed under Ubba in 878, appearing occasionally in South Wales as late as the eleventh century, (Powel, *Carad.* p. 111,) and whose traces are probably preserved in the names of Skomer, Skokham, and Gateholm, still borne by some of the islands which lie scattered along the coasts of Dyfed.

This district was always a favourite point for communication between Wales and Ireland, countries inhabited by kindred people, who, after the Celtic manner, took a lively interest in each others' internal affairs.

The completed conquest and partition of England brought over a swarm of Normans, who, not having taken part in the original venture, and finding therefore little share in the spoils, obtained license to extend the sway of the Conqueror into Wales. They selected the southern and more exposed districts, accessible by sea, commencing with Gwent and Glamorgan; and they

profited largely by the disunion of the natives. As early as 1049, Griffith, Prince of North Wales, invited Sweyn, a son of Earl Godwin, to join in the invasion of West Wales; and in the brief reign of Harold,—much of whose early reputation was due to his victories over the Welsh, and his erection, it is related, of a palace at Portskewet, in Monmouthshire,—Caradoc ap Griffith, to avenge a defeat, made overtures to the Saxons, and these, repeated to the Normans, brought over in 1069–70 a small force, which withdrew only to return augmented about 1072, when occurred what was probably the first organized attack by the Normans upon West Wales.

By 1079 the Conqueror had arranged the defence of his own borders, and began to turn his attention upon his active and salient neighbours. Several authors affirm that, in this year, he entered Wales with an army, proceeded as far as St. David's, received homage and submission from the Welsh, and, some add, set at liberty a number of prisoners. (Jones, *History of Wales*, *Carte* i. 434; Ingr. *Sax. Chr.* 286.) In 1086–7, just before his death, William passed a Christmas, as he had occasionally done before, at Gloucester, upon the Welsh frontier. (M. Paris, *Flor. Worc.*, Powel, *Hollinshed*, Lappenberg *Ang. Sax.*)

William Rufus pursued his father's policy as regarded Wales. In 1091 he is said by William of Malmesbury to have led an army thither; and by other authorities, though generally unsuccessful to have gained a victory near Brecon, and to have slain Rhys, the Welsh leader. In 1092 he promoted the conquest of South and North Wales, and encouraged a strong league of barons led by Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, Hugh, Earl of Chester, and Henry de Newburg, Earl of Warwick, the conqueror of Gower, who proposed to themselves the settlement of Powis, Cardigan, Ewyas, Dyfed and Gower. Earl Roger, head of the house of Montgomery, was their chief. He was a prudent, and able, and, after the fashion of his age, a religious noble. He held with his wife Mabel the great possessions of the Norman family of De Talvas, and in

his own right the town of Chichester, and the earldoms of Arundel and Shrewsbury, where he founded the yet extant castles, and by means of the latter conquered, and held in check, and gave his name to, the town and county of Montgomery. He did homage with the rest for their future conquest, and entered South Wales by sea in 1092.

Earl Roger was resisted by Cadogan ap Bleddyn, who is said to have repelled some earlier invaders, and to have recovered all the strong places except Pembroke and Rydcors. He seems to have held Roger in check, and in 1093 to have gained upon him considerably. In 1094 the attack was renewed, but still without success. In 1095 Rufus, returning from Normandy, led the invaders, attacking Montgomery in January, and North Wales at Michaelmas. (*Carte.*) Both in this and the following year he was unsuccessful, and the castle of Montgomery was lost. Earl Roger, left to himself, probably made good his ground in Middle Wales, and rebuilt his castle within the year; for, on the 27th August following, he was, with other barons, slain by the Welsh between Cardiff and Brecknock. There is, however, another version which represents him as setting aside the last three days of his life to prayer and conference in the abbey of Shrewsbury, and there dying in something of the odour of sanctity, 27th August, 1094. Earl Roger is the reputed founder of Kilgerran Castle, said to have been completed by Gilbert Strongbow.

His place in West Wales was filled by Arnulph, a younger son, styled by some writers Earl of Pembroke. Inheriting no land, he applied for and received from Rufus license to conquer Dyfed; and he is thought to have built the original castle at Pembroke, where he placed Gerald de Windsor as castellan.

Whether Arnulph built or rebuilt any part of the present castle is uncertain; but that he left a fortress there on a large scale is evident, from his gift, in 1098, of "the church of St. Nicholas, within his castle of Pembroke, and twenty carucates of land," to the Norman abbey of St. Martin, at Sayes, founded by his father.

(*Monast.* and Tanner.) This he did for the weal of his own soul, that of his father, and that of his brother Hugh, surnamed by the Welsh "Goch," from the red colour of his hair, and recently (1098) slain. In consequence, a Benedictine priory, a cell to St. Martin's, and dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. John the Evangelist, was established at Pembroke, where the ruins are still known as Monkton. In 1097 Rufus was again in Wales, from Midsummer to August, and with great loss. He passed his last Christmas, 1100, at Gloucester.

Upon the king's death, in 1100, Arnulph strengthened his position, and with him

"Came Robert de Belesme through his overweening,
And passed hither over the sea, and into Wales went,"

where the two brothers took a prominent place among the turbulent nobility who adhered to Duke Robert, and defended in 1102 Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, and Arundel Castles against the king. Peter of Langtoft continues,—

"Within days thirty taken was he through spy
And led to King Henry; done had he felony,
And his brother Arnold ———"

Some accounts place the exile of the two brothers in 1102, others state that after the banishment of Robert de Belesme, Arnulph, still supporting Curthose and his own brother's interests, strengthened Pembroke Castle, and made overtures to the Welsh. Finally, however, he fled to Ireland, and married Lafracoth, daughter of King Morcar. (*Oder. Vital.*)

Henry speedily detached the Welsh from his cause, and cut off his return to Wales. In 1103 he appears as assisting the Irish to beat off a piratical attack from Magnus of Norway, but he finally fled to Normandy, where he took part in the battle of Alençon in 1118. Meantime, Henry placed Saher, one of his knights, at Pembroke; but in 1102 he restored the charge to Gerald the former castellan. The castle must therefore be regarded at this period as vested in the crown.

Gerald was third son of Walter Fitz-Other, castellan

of Windsor, founder of the great families of Fitz-Gerald in Ireland, and Carew and Windsor in England and Ireland. He became the third husband of Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Twdwr, and sister of Griffith ap Rhys, Princes of South Wales. By her he was father of William, Maurice, and Griffith Fitz-Gerald, and Walter, Bishop of St. David's. (Hollinshed, 109.) Nest had been mistress to Henry I., and by him was mother of Henry, and of Robert Earl of Gloucester. One of Gerald's grandchildren, the son either of his son Gerald, or of his daughter Angharad, for the matter is doubtful, was the celebrated historian Giraldus Cambrensis, or De Barri, whose family may possibly have given name to the Glamorganshire island of Barry, but most certainly did not, as has been supposed, derive it from thence.

Gerald is reputed to have rebuilt Pembroke Castle; but this more probably relates to Carew, a corruption of the Welsh "Caerau," "Castra," a neighbouring stronghold, whence one of his sons, Ido or Odo de Carrio, derived his name. Both Carews and Windsors long remained in the district. As late as 8 Richard II. Sir William de Windsor appears by an inquisition to hold the lordship of Manorbeer, and the castle and manor of Penally. (*Inq. p. m.* iii. 69.)

Soon after Gerald was installed, Owen ap Cadogan ap Bleddyn entered Pembroke Castle by a peculiarly dirty piece of treachery, and stole thence Nest, and Gerald's two sons, and took them to Powis. Gerald drove Owen into Ireland, and recovered first the children, and finally their mother. Owen, assisted by the Irish, returned to Wales, and carried on for many years a desultory war against Gerald and the men of Pembroke.

Pembroke about 1111 received a colony of Flemings. Men of this nation were not unknown in England. Several had come over with, and been encouraged by, the Conqueror, and others were in favour with Henry's son-in-law the emperor, and with Henry himself, whose mother Maud was daughter to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders. In consequence of an inundation in their own country, a

considerable number emigrated about this time to England, and were kindly received by Henry, and sent to settle themselves in Pembroke, as a barrier, says Malmesbury, against the Welsh. They speedily colonized and defended the peninsula, and are described by Giraldus as a brave and contented people.

A little before this time, about 1107, Henry, irritated by the murder of a Flemish bishop then travelling in West Wales, and much engaged in the contest for the investitures with Archbishop Anselm and Pope Paschal II., and having in view an expedition to Normandy, called in the aid of Gilbert de Clare, a nobleman well known in Normandy, England, and Wales, and whose uncle Walter was the conqueror of North Gwent. To him Henry offered the dangerous permission to conquer Cardigan, the inheritance of Cadogan ap Bleddyn.

Gilbert de Clare was the descendant and ancestor of a strong-blooded and powerful race of barons, who left their mark upon almost every great transaction of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries in Normandy and England, and latterly in Wales and Ireland. He was descended from Richard, Duke of Normandy, whose natural son, Geoffrey, Count of Eu, was father to Gislebert, surnamed "Crispin," Count of Brionne and Eu, a man of violence, who was put to death by a family he had injured. He was father, some say by Arlotta the Conqueror's mother, to RICHARD and Baldwin, who assisted in the conquest of England.

Baldwin, styled indifferently "de Molis," "Meules," "de Sap," "de Exeter," and "Le Viscomte," the two latter titles relating to his office of sheriff of Devon, stood high in Duke William's confidence. He resided at Okehampton, and at the close of the western rebellion, in 1068, when Gytha, Harold's mother, fled to Steepholm, and Exeter, after a fourteen to eighteen days' siege, surrendered to the Conqueror, he received from that prince twenty houses in the town, and 159 manors in the district, and was left with a strong garrison to construct a castle. How well he did his work is evident from the remains still extant.

The earthworks are the most formidable in England, and surpass even those at Wallingford. Baldwin died before 1091, having married Emma, daughter of an aunt of the Conqueror, probably Adelaide, wife of Renaud de Bourgoyne. They had issue, Robert, Richard, and William.

Robert regained the alienated inheritance of Brionne in 1090 from Duke Robert, on the rebellion of Robert, Earl of Meulan, and afterwards when called upon to yield it up he refused, and stood an assault, of which a very spirited account is given by Odericus Vitalis. Brionne occupied an island between Montreuil and St. Evrault, and the manor of Sap was near it. Robert died in 1135. Of William nothing is recorded.

RICHARD FITZ-GILBERT, called from his Norman manor, or as some untruly say from Benefield, in Northamptonshire, "de Bienfaite," and sometimes "de Clare," and "de Tonbridge," from his principal English possessions, was one of the most considerable and most richly rewarded of the Norman adventurers. In Normandy he had Bienfaite and Orbec. In England, besides Tonbridge, he received in Surrey thirty-eight lordships, in Essex thirty-five, in Cambridgeshire three, and in Suffolk, including Clare, ninety-five, in all 171 lordships. (Foss. Judges, i. 30.)

The Leuca or Lowy of Tonbridge he is said to have obtained with the manor of Homet, in Normandy, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, in exchange for Brionne. It is related that a thong being extended round Brionne was transferred to England and laid out at Tonbridge, so as to include an equal area. This ordinary story, though very generally received, is scarcely consistent with the figure of the Lowy, which is well known and preserved. It is very irregular. A part, tolerably compact, is on the east bank of the Medway, including the castle, town, and suburbs, and part is on the west bank, forming two peninsulas, one of which includes the Somerhill domain, and extends almost to Tonbridge Wells. The franchise is probably of Saxon date. It is entered in *Domesday* as

belonging to Earl Richard. 42 and 43 Henry III. it is called the "Baleuca," and the "Leucata de Tonbridge." Its present name is the Lewy. (Hasted, *Kent*, ii. 308; *Cal. Rot. Pat.* 30, 1.)

This Lewy of Tonbridge was claimed by Becket as a fief of his see, and the earl's refusal, under the king's order, to do homage, was one of the grievances brought forward by the prelate. The homage then withheld was afterwards conceded to Archbishop Walter Hubert.

In 1073 Earl Richard was joint chief justice of England with William de Warrene, and in that capacity he assisted the Regent Odo to put down Waltheof's conspiracy.

On the death of William, the earl at first supported Duke Robert, whom he joined in inviting to England. In 1088 he was besieged for two days, (*Carte*), wounded, and taken in Tonbridge Castle, by William Rufus, to whom he then swore allegiance.

In 1091, while fighting for Rufus at the siege of Coucy, he was taken by Curthose; and in 1095 he was a sharer in Mowbray's conspiracy, when he is called "de Tonbridge." Soon after this his warlike tastes led him into South Wales, where he made an inroad into Cardigan, in returning from which he was waylaid and slain by the Welsh, under Iorwerth, brother of the lord of Carleon, near Llanthony.

Richard was buried at Ernulphsbury, or St. Neot's, co. Hunts, a manor inherited by his wife; and he is reputed to have given lands at Tooting to the monks of Bec, who established a priory there.

He married Rohaise, sister of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, and eventually heiress of his vast estates in England and Normandy. Of their five children,—

1. Roger de Bienfaite, called by Lappenberg the second son, supported Duke Robert against his father in 1080, and in 1109 accompanied Maud, daughter of Henry I. to Germany, and was present at her marriage with the Emperor Henry. He was distinguished in arms under Henry I., whom in 1119 he encouraged to

fight with Louis of France, and shared in the battle and the victory. He is recorded to have slain Robert, son of Humphry de Bellomont. He died childless, and bequeathed his possessions to his nephew, Gilbert, son of his brother of the same name.

2. GILBERT, who carried on the succession.

3. Walter, conqueror of Nether Gwent, who also bequeathed his possessions to his nephew, Gilbert.

4. Robert, died 1135. He married a daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, and was ancestor of the great baronial house of Fitz-Walter.

5. Richard, a monk of Bec, was Abbot of Ely. There were also two daughters, one of whom married Raoul de Tillieres, or Telgus.

Rohaise, the widow, remarried Eudo Dapifer. She attached St. Neot's to the abbey of Bec.

GISLEBERT, or GILBERT DE CLARE, was, from his residence in Gwent, often, though irregularly, called Earl of Striguil. Striguil was probably founded by William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, and is one of the three Monmouthshire castles mentioned in *Domesday*.

In 1095 he joined Robert de Mowbray in the northern rebellion against Rufus; but seeing the king about to fall personally into an ambush, he warned him of the danger. Three years later, 12 William II., while in rebellion with Robert, Earl of Moreton, he was besieged and taken by the king in Tonbridge Castle. About 1107, summoned by Henry I., he entered West Wales. Shortly afterwards he invaded Cardigan by sea, reduced it to submission from the Teivi to the Ystwyth, and founded the castles of Aberystwyth, Aberteivi or Cardigan, and re-edified that of Kilgerran. By this means he forced Owen ap Caradoc to make terms with Gerald, then in charge of Pembroke Castle. Gilbert died about 1115, Hasted says 1111, of consumption, to the great joy of his Welsh neighbours. (Powel, 151.)

Gilbert endowed richly the abbey of Bec, annexing to it the church of St. John at Clare, with seven stalls founded by the Confessor, and adding to this other lands

for the repose of his own soul, and those of his father, mother, and his brother Godfrey, not elsewhere mentioned, perhaps not legitimate, buried in the church-yard of Clare. He was also a liberal contributor to the monks of Thorney, Lewes, and Gloucester. (Dugd. *Baron.* 207.)

He married Adeliza, daughter of the Count of Clermont, and by her had four sons, and a daughter, Rohaise. Adeliza seems to have founded the commandery of Melchbourn, co. Beds. (Tanner.)

GEO. T. CLARK.

Dowlais, January, 1859.

(*To be continued.*)

LETTERS OF WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OF IVY TOWER, PEMBROKESHIRE,
TO THEOPHILUS JONES, OF BRECON.

No. II.

(*Concluded from p. 382, Vol. IV.*)

III.

Ivy Tower. Tenby 9. August 1810

Dear Sir

First thanking you from my heart for your kind present which arrived after I had sent you my *Primitive History*; the carriage of which I was so unpolite as not to defray; not indeed thro a niggardly turn, but because letters and parcels hence postpaid have not been received;—I am astonished at what curious intelligence your Celtic friend has superadded to Bryant. I wish Mr Davies in quoting that author had set down the chapter and verse of each writer from whom Mr Bryant has respectively deduced his conclusions. For our English mythologist, as to what he says mostly from his own conjectures, merits for his motto,—*Quod vult, valde vult*. Not but I ever deemed the 8 Arkites the primitive general Cabiri. But Ham's family deified 8 persons of that *peculiar* family namely

1. Noah, the parent of the pagan Gods Oceanus; Ogen, whence old men were termed Ogenides. Muth (or Pluto or

- Serapis) according to Varro—Nilus I.—Proteus I.—Nereus Grandævus—From him Ham was termed Barmoth—Noah is the Fish Notius in Hyginus Astron. 2. 30 & 41.
2. Tethys, Noah's consort.
 3. Ham, Chamos; Opus, Cham ob; Phtha; Anak; old Prometheus: Cronos; Belus; Sol; Marnas; Taran; Thor; Καμ-ηφις; Volian of Gaul; Thamuz or Thaumus, or Genitor Mavors: Zamolxis, or Zam-ol Zeus; Ham the mighty God. Plutarch's Armin (and see Sanchoniatho). Cam-Eses or Hizzus—Mars Adonis—Ababas—Gabirus. Zeth Prometheus.
 4. Ham's wife, Thebe; Latona, see Herodot. 2. 156. The ancient Venus Mother of the (Egyptian) Gods: Athyr; Beros: Maya: Cabeira; Astarte: Anaitis; Diana: Atargatis Derceto: Baaltis: Alilat; Mylitta; Ceres Antiquissima Minerva.
 5. Misor: Menes, Mendes or Pan, (see Herodot. 2. 46). Osiris,—*antiquissimum Ægypti numen* in Tacitus:—Isiris Cadmillus, Priapus—Agathodæmon—Ogmeon,—Dionysius—Hermes I. Aroueris, an old God, in Plutarch.
 6. Misor's wife Isis, Chamyna, Phoronis, Bona Dea.
 7. Thwth Hermogenes (see Eratosthenes) Hermanubis; Trismegistus. He is deemed an ancient God by Plato.
 8. Apis or Epius, Ismunus.

So much for your Celtic friend's "*Ogdoad*."

The Titans (some 7 centuries afterwards) affected the names of these primitive Gods. Altho Druidical rites prevailed in Samothrace, and Circe's cauldron and that of Diana at Tauris were Druidical, yet Tuitho, or Teutat sometimes named Tat, Ham's Great Grandson, who came into Europe, probably expelled by the Hycsi pastors, and died in Spain; brought the Arkite rites among the Celtæ: but when Joshua expelled Canaanites, *after* the Trojan war, (3. 6. Pomponius Mela) they brought additional rites, disliked at first in Britain. Thus Sarum had its name from Saron, Phenician for an oak: Ambergmount signifies Sacred Mount; Beli-Sama Holy Queen: Sadwrn, Patent &c. Trojans also brought Phrygian rites (after the example of Pius Æneas) to Britain: for their arrival here is not an antient tale.

Mr Davies seems not to have perused Lucian *De Dea Syria*. In her temple was a hole through which it was feigned that the flood sunk away. But Lucian says the names of the Gods were first known in Egypt—See Herodotus 250. t 52.—

Menw (page 13) was the first Egyptian Menes, Ham's son Misor, the primitive Mercury, and Hamberades. I admire the Astronomical Truth (page 55-6)

The ancients counted 3 floods;—Deucalion's; that of Ogyges; but they say not in whose time the first was, page 97. Nêv, Heaven, is the Russian Nebo, the Assyrian Deity. As Tacitus wrote that Mona's altars were polluted with blood of Captives and events were predicted from their entrails. This account resembles the magical rites of Persia, in a poem among the Catalecta Poetarum;—

Fata per humanas solitus prænoscere fibras,
Impius infanda religione sapor;
Pectoris ingenui salientia viscera flammis
Imposuit; magico carmine rupit humum;
Ausus ab Elysiis Pompeium ducere campis &c.

Compare what P. Fugiens quotes from R. Simeon; and Strabo, of the Gauls: Q. Curtius 4. Diodorus Siculus 20: Justin 23: Plato, in Minois; with the burnt offerings of the Druids in Wicker idols: also see Deuteronomy 12. 31.—2 Kings 17. 21.—Psalm 106. 37. 38.—Jeremy 7. 31: & 19. 5.—Ezek. 16. 20; & 23. 39:—Solomon's Wisdom, 14. 23.

As Sanchoniatho has recorded that the Phenician Agroueris "was drawn from place to place in a shrine by a yoke of oxen," so Tacitus says, "In an Oceanic isle stood a sacred grove; the Goddess Demeter, covered with a vest was paraded about in a vehicle drawn by cows," like Ammon in Q. Curtius. Moloch's Tabernacle is mentioned Act. 7. 43. The Carthaginians carried about in covered chariots, termed by Eustathius (Il. 1.) portable temples, idols borne by oxen. Thus Sulpitius Severus says, "the Gauls made a procession about their farms with their Gods covered with a white veil. Tacitus adds the Goddess was afterwards bathed in a rivulet; this resembles the Brahmans (in Bartolomeo) laving the Goddess Bhagavani in a holy tank: also the Roman rite as to Ceres, 6. Kal. April, according to Ammian: when as Herodian writes, they paraded with Pluto; as still done by our *Morrice* Dancers, so termed from *Mawr Rhys*, Great King (Sol) the *Morichus* of Alex. ab Alex. b. 4.—At Herodotus 2. 63, we read that the EGYPTIANS carried about wooden idols in small temples, on four wheeled cars. Theodoret (Serm. 4) says the Ioulos was sung to Ceres: It was the tropical festival.

As to Caer Sida; Sida in Arabic is a Lady. But Σιδη, like Rimmon, is a Pomegranate: Its strong shell including a multitude of seeds, it was deemed a fit emblem of the ark.

373. Loegrians, Lloech Gwr, Silvestres,—Gwynedd, Veneti, Fair Tribe.

374. Gwrtheirn, Lord of the Tourn, or Moet; hence Attorney. Sir, Born in Tenby, I have only learnt some Welsh nouns.

Therefore am no good critic, as to your extraordinary present. Did I know how safely to send him a copy of my primitive history, he should be welcome to it. Many passages in it may confirm many assertions in his book—But I would recommend it to him to publish an *Edition of Nennius*. It cannot be well done but by a learned Cambrian, who would annex to every Latin name its British. I could send in a little help. I remain Sir your obliged servant m.

W. WILLIAMS.

Theophilus Jones, Esquire
Brecon.

IV.

Ivy Tower Tenby; 15 Augst. 1810

My good Sir

Very entertaining has been your favour this morning: I was particularly delighted to find that after all your labours to gratify the public will find information as well as (*sic*) arising from your particular duties. You can for amusement write so perfectly at your ease. You doubtless conceive that what I wrote of Celtic Lore was with a wish it should be communicated to the excellent Rector of Bishopstone. Some 4 days ago I noted what has pleased me wonderfully; for it has confirmed me in the belief that Noah not only *finally* settled somewhere eastward of the Indus: but that he debarked from the ark thereabouts. Mount Masis in Armenia could not have been the scene of disembarkation. Elephants buffaloes camels Horses Asses &c could never have safely descended thence. And, confined between the Euxina and Baltic it was not a site whence men & animals could expand themselves commodiously over the old world. I conclude that Noah grounded and landed on exceeding high land with a long gradual descent toward lower regions. A vast country of this description is between Balk and Thibet: And as the genuine Berosus wrote that Noah's family went *round*, to go to Shinar, I take it to mean taking a circuit round the heads of the Indus: & that therefore the ark rested eastward of that river, on the Bol-Ur hills, having Cashmere on the south and Cashgar on the north. The vast height of that region is proved by great rivers running thence every way; as the ancient river Oxus westward into the Aral Lake;—the Indus, Ganges, and the Burrampooter southward; the vast yellow river runs eastward to and thro all China: the Irtish runs northward into the Oby, & both united into the Icy Sea. Consulting Forster's Map of Tartary I was agreeably surprized to find a Province

S.E. of the above hills, named *Kilan*, a name of Noah:—See The Druid Rites p. 257. I think “Chethem” akin to Chittim, latinized into Ceti, not meaning as Bochart and others deem “Latent,” whence Latin; but from Ketos, a name of the ark. p. 159 & 122. The custom of bidding to weddings prevailed even in the East, as we learn from our Saviour, Mat. 22. Here in Pembrokeshire the orator on such occasions is named a Llafer (see p. 270). The sounding and ringing bridge stone at St David’s, over which Henry 2 was warned not to pass was named Llech laver. But now occurs to me your Maen Lia. This shows that many old Gomerian words had been superseded by adventitious terms. Thus *Dwr* water is *ὕδωρ*, which Plato deemed a Phrygian word;—Water in old Cymbraeg (*sic*) is *Au*: hence Aberddau;—Llyd-au, watershore—Glau, rain. Owing to this innovation of terms illiterate persons have united the old and new names together. Thus, near me a natural carn has been named *Carn Rock*; at Tenby a rock near S. Catherine’s Islet is named Scur rock: but scur, scar, tor, tar, all signify a rock as Tzor, Tyre does. Many are the oriental terms crept into the Celtic, as *Caer*, *Llan*, *Maen*. Now your stone, *Maen Lia*, is literally Stone stone; for the famous regal stone, now in Westminster Abbey was named *Lia Fail*, the Fatal stone. Greek is composed much of the 3 primitive tongues. The Celtic or Japhetan;—the Syriac, or Shemite, Gothic Tartarian;—and the Phœnician, or Chaldee, Ham’s language. A stone, *Lapis*, is in Greek *λίθος*; both the Greek & Latin names are from our *Lia*; for these people were apt to interpose, or prefix, consonants to give strength to their language. Thus from the Greek, who have immemorially lost their 6th letter or numeral, comes the Latin *Fibius*; and their *Sol* is from the Celtic. Cambrians pronounce their F like the Hebrew *Vau*; and each is the 6th letter in their respective alphabets. The ancient Tuscans had the digamma F:—See Swinton.

At p. 23. Gwron seems to be Gwr on, viz Solis; solar priest.

At p. 13 (& 262). Menw seems the first Menes, Ham’s son Misor.

At p. 435–436. Pharaon seems Pharaon On.

At p. 438. The cat is Bubastis, the emblem of the Egyptian Diana, as the owl was of Minerva; both names respect Luna, Empress of Night when cats and owls are vigilant.

At. p. 212. The circle of glass, reminds me of the sacred sea of glass.

At p. 94. I rejoiced to find that Hebrew was used in Druidical lore & (138) an ox represented a Druidical God, as well as an Egyptian.

Somewhat of minor note I might add: but I must attend to the letter I am now favoured with. Our good Bp. far transcends my praise. But never shall I see H—west again! I can scarcely crawl along my parlour. Had the weather proved genial I would have presumed to invite you hither and to have sent a good horse; but to see a person (who till 60 years old, active and blest with spirits) lame languid, and debilitated and void of appetite would be unpleasant altho my spirits at sight of an agreeable visitor return some hours. But an Oceanic atmosphere quite overwhelms me, as well as my Hay.

The transfer of property in Wales can only be touched in a summary way and in a few rare instances. Ludlow decisions and combinations bestowed estates at will, as the Herald's Office confers coat armour. The Maxima Est Veritas must be lost sight of, and I have long since ceased to venerate Tomb stones. One is in Laugharne on *Penoir* and one is in Tenby on a quondam blacksmith!!

Of Churches the small one of Eglwys Cymmun, between Laugharne and Tavern Spite seems very ancient & a model of one of the most ancient in Kent. I know not that I have seen Llangadwrn Church; it is an *antiquarian* name! I remain Sir very truly your obliged humble Servant

WM. WILLIAMS.

Theophilus Jones Esquire Brecon.

V.

Ivy Tower. 30. Augst 1810.

Dear Sir

While you are tracing pedigrees which you deem ancient, I have lately been examining one more ancient: and find that St Matthew gives us the tables of the Royal succession while Luke has recorded Christ's parental descent. Matthew omits 3 because Jehu was permitted to be their Lord paramount, and the Jeconias which begins his 3^d class was junior to him in the 2nd class. Some in Mathew no more begat their respective successors than Queen Elizabeth begat King James.

But to your last favour. "Canton" you put into Coventry; I will try to fetch it out by the help of some learned English writers. Johnson says "It is a small parcel or division of land" without setting it at the Land's End. He quotes Sir John Davies on Ireland whose words were "only that little canton of land called the English pale containing 4 shires." On the *verb* "canton" he quotes Locke, who says "Families shall canton his empire into less governments for themselves;"—also "to have

his territories cantoned out into parcels," Swift. And Addison says "to have all the mighty monarchies of the world cantoned out into petty states." Berne and other cantons of the Swiss are not squeezed into a corner. I shall therefore hold to my cantons; which my great grandsire W^m Williams who was great grandson of Bp. Ferrar, displayed on his Father's monument quartered with the arms as I sent you. For the Rudd's arms the copper table was divided into 2 parts; and perhaps my ancestor W^m W^{ms} complimented the Archdeacon Rudd with the former part of the Table: and a distinct scutcheon of the Boars' heads was set over it. In the other half is the mention of Bp Ferrar and his descendants, as I have sent you, set forth in 1655; and his arms quartered with W^{ms} being the arms of Rob. Wms. Grandson of Rob. Ferrar in a distinct shield and place from Rudd's shield. The stone work of the monument was repaired A.D. 1767. But the stone cutter instead of renewing the two distinct scutcheons of Rudd & W^{ms}, joined them together, and in his window set Rudd's on the side next to the inscription on Rudd, whose Boars' heads H. Gwynne of Garth placed in his arms for Lady Rudd. I have seen this coat marshalled in the arms of Sir John Price, and it was Lord Carbury's,—see the Peerage. Near 70 years ago the Rev^d. Edw. Yardley took out a scutcheon for my father, just as you have received the arms from me. But the scutcheon you have sent contains the arms borne by the Ferrars (or Farrers) of Enwood Halifax. But I cannot agree with Wright or Halifax that the Bp. was born at Enwood; tho' I believe the Ferrars there were akin to him. The Rev^d John Watson, on Halifax, 4^o treats of Bp. Ferrar; and only says as to his birth that Thoresby (p. 196) "seems to think" that he belonged to the family settled at Enwood. I hope if you mention Browne Willis & Ant. Wood it will be to contradict and censure them, as they truly deserve. Of these two calumniators Watson says thus; "Willis in his survey says 'The Bp. became a most miserable dilapidator.'" But Watson adds "this writer I think treats his character too severely; as likewise does A. Wood."—Watson might in plain terms have said, they have both cruelly belied him. His persecutors (who trumped up 56 articles all false and most of them ridiculously frivolous) charged him NOT with being a dilapidator. No; the Bp made such dilapidators his foes by proceeding against *them*. Watson says p. 469 "It is no great wonder indeed that malice should shew itself on this occasion: two of the chief managers of the prosecution, Dⁿ Young and D^r Meyrick had been removed from their offices by this Bp., as he writes to the Lord Chancellor "for their covetous respect to lucre." These two fled, cowardly; yet afterwards assumed merit, and became

Prelates!! As to Bp. Godwin he was himself a fawning time server and shrunk from the stern steadiness of Bp. Ferrar. Watson says at p 470, "Among the Harleian MSS (see No 420 of the Catalogue) are several papers touching the Bp's trial not in Fox; the book is called the 5th vol. of Fox's papers bought of Strype. Burnet 2-215 seems led away by the Bp's malicious accusations. Watson (p. 244,) says that Thoresby drew up a pedigree of the Ferrars of Enwood; but shews not the Bp's parentage. Watson p 245 gives the arms of Henry Ferrar of Enwood, "on a Bend engrailed sable 3 horse shoes argent." This is no reason I should admit these arms to be Bp. Ferrar's, against the testimony of my great grandsire. Nor can I admit some of his, mentioned by you, against the Bp's own written testimony. As to the arms you have sent me for those of Lewis Williams, it is (according to my documents) false heraldry. For his wife carried the Bp's estate in Abergwilly to her husband and their issue; & her arms should be on a small shield in the centre of his!

When Q. Elizabeth established the Reformation, any surnamed Ferrar affected descent from the Bp (Finis!) so now R—— F—— (more last words) but what signifies a degraded Bp to so great a man as one who boasted of "his ancestors the Princes of Wales;" pox take him. "F——" is not Celtic, it sounds plaguy Gothic! As to Pennant's name, if Gom'r Aey, I need not tell you that it be pronounced Pen-nànt.

I am Sir your sincere & obliged

WM. WILLIAMS.

Bp. Ferrar himself has written his name repeated Ferrar, not Farrer, as the family of Enwood Halifax.

Having (after much preparation & expense) begun this summer to translate the New Testament, which is wanted, altho of late years several new translations have come abroad, I have completed S. Matthew; but from decayed constitution at 74 years old and avocations I much fear that I shall not finish it, exceedingly requisite as it is!

Theophilus Jones Esquire
Brecon

In a different hand—(Jones'?)

Rice Rudd of Aberglasney 276th Bart created Dec. 8
1628. Az a Lion rampant and Canton or

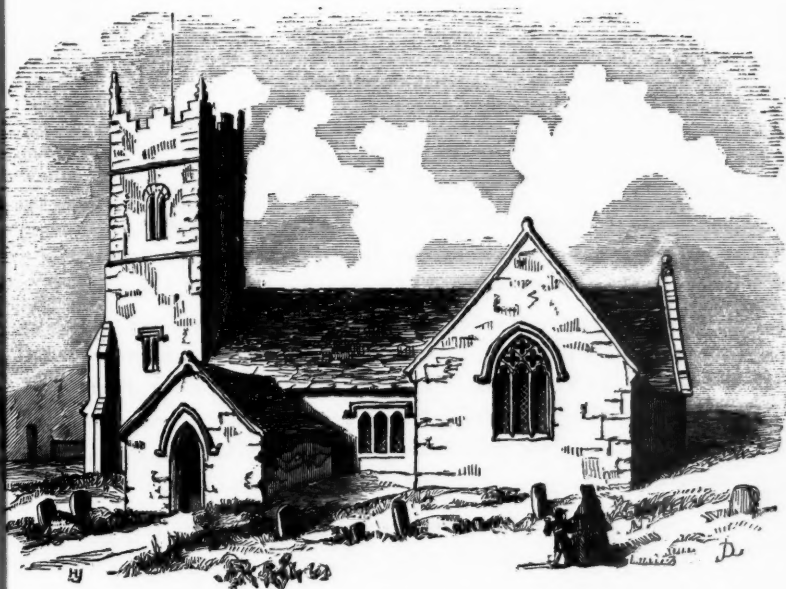
WM WMS. Ivy Tower
Augt 1810

Ab^t it & ab^t it

MONA MEDIÆVA.

No. XXI.

LLANDEGFAN.



Llandegfan Church.

THE church in this parish is, in its older portions, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, though many additions and alterations have been effected during the present. It consisted originally of a nave and chancel, but two chapels have been added, giving it the appearance of a cross-church. The southern chapel has been enlarged, and the plan has been rendered by it so anomalous that the chancel has become one of the most inconsiderable features in the building. At the west end stands a tower, erected by Lord Bulkeley in 1811. Very few architectural details of any interest remain. The original font of the

church is (1848) in the garden of Nant Howel, and a stoup on a tall pedestal, of rather doubtful design, serves for it on the north side of the nave. Against the east wall of the chancel is affixed a monument, with the half effigy of a gentleman of the guard, in a red doublet slashed with black, and the Royal arms on the breast, the whole in an oval frame; a death's head crowned above, and two small badges of three feathers, in labels bearing "*Ich Dien*" below. On a tablet in the base is the following inscription:—

TO Y^r MEMORY OF
M^r THOMAS DAVIS GĒNT

SERVANT TO Y^r TWO MOST ILLVSTRIOVS PRINCES HENRY & CHARLES
BOTH PRINCES OF WALES AND NOW TO KING CHARLES Y^r FIRST MESSENGER
IN ORDINARY OF HIS MTIES CHAMBER WHO IN HIS LIFE TIME IN CHRISTIAN
CHARITIE CONFERR'D ON THIS FISHE OF LLAN DIGVAN WHERE HE WAS BORNE
Y^r SOMME OF FIFTY TWO SHILLINGS YEARELY FOR EVER TO Y^r RELIEFE OF
Y^r POORE IN THIS PARISH THAT IS TO SAY ON EVERY SYNDAY MORNING AFT^r
DIVINE SERVICE ONE DOZEN OF BREAD FOR EVER, AND FOR Y^r CONTINVANCE HERE
OF HE HATH GIVEN TO Y^r CHVRCHWARDENS FOVRE SHILLINGS A YEARE FOR EVER.
HE GAVE THIS AGED 62 & AFTER DIED IN GOD'S FEARE AN^o 1649.

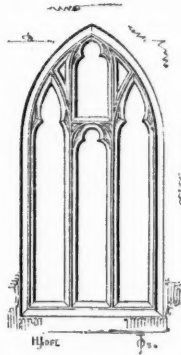
This is the mother church of Beaumaris, and is dedicated to St. Tegfan, a saint of the sixth century, of whom Professor Rees (*Welsh Saints*, p. 238) says,—

"About this period (A.D. 500 to A.D. 542) lived Tegfan, the son of Cardudwys, of the line of Cadrod Calchfynydd; and though the number of generations between him and his ancestor exceeds the usual allowance for the interval of time, it does not exceed the bounds of probability. He was the brother of Gallgu Rhieddog, and is said to have been the founder of Llandegfan, Anglesey."

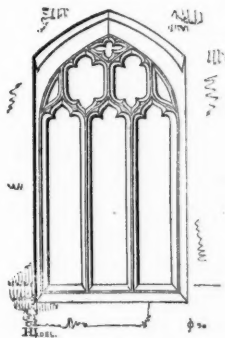
The church-yard is a spot of quiet beauty, and contains among other tombs one belonging to two infant daughters of the author of this paper.

PENMYNYDD.

The church consists of a nave and chancel, with a small chapel at the north-east corner of the former. The internal dimensions of the nave are 38 feet by 22 feet; of the chancel, 30 feet by 20 feet. It is most probably of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and has replaced a much older building, small fragments of which, parts of Norman chevron-mouldings, are worked up in the outer walls. The nave has two entrances, north and south, the latter under a porch, and has only two lateral windows, one being of two lights, square-headed, and trifoliated; but in the west gable is a window of three lights, of which an engraving is given. This west end carries a small gable for two bells. The mouldings are plain chamfers throughout, and the masonry carefully finished. The font is a plain octagonal basin without a shaft, standing on three steps; it has no doubt, as in other



West Window, Nave.

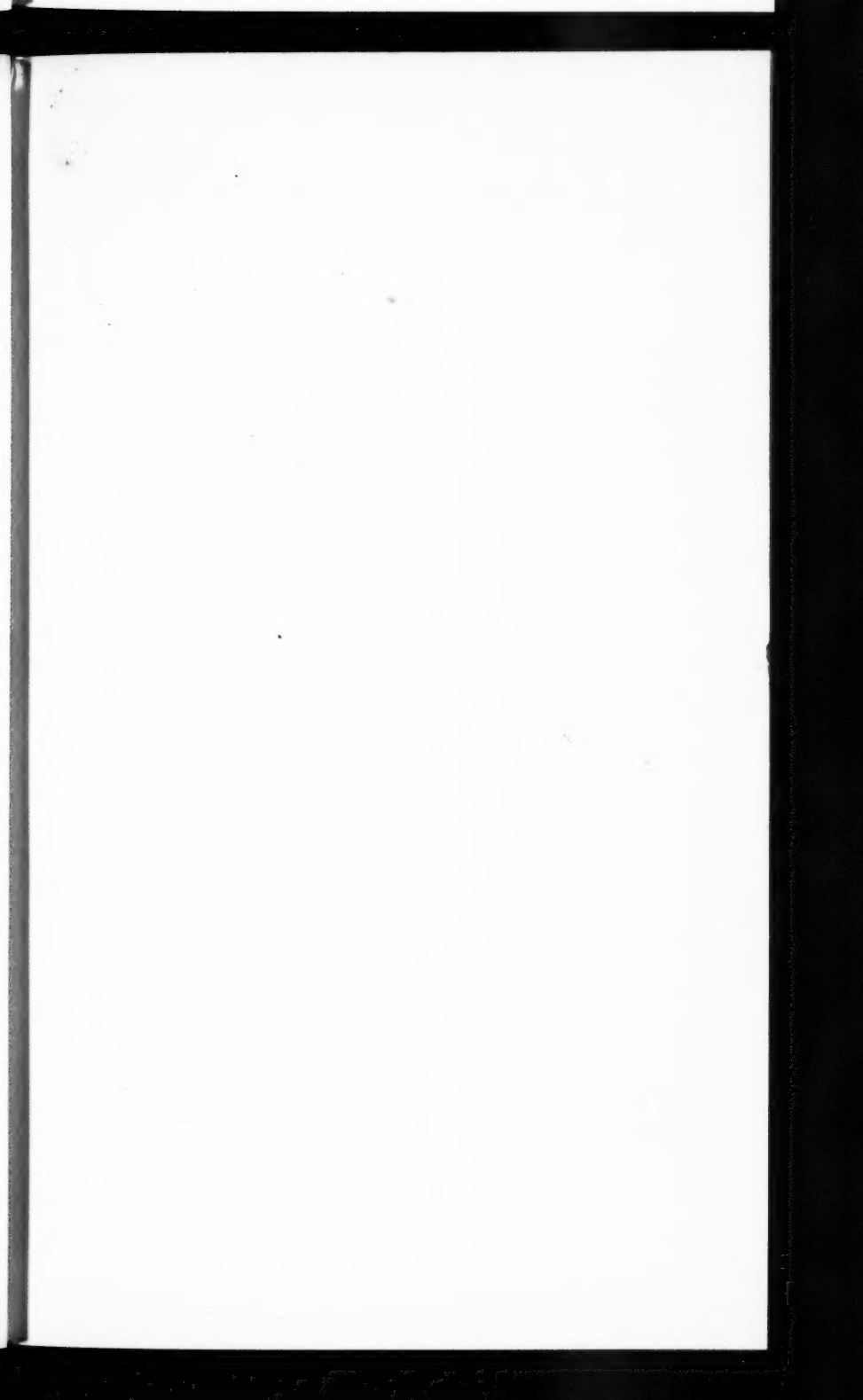


East Window, Chancel.

Anglesey churches, replaced a much older one, now destroyed. In the chapel on the north side of the nave is a low tomb in the north wall, nearly at the level of the ground, with a slab so plain that it might almost be suspected to have served for an Easter sepulchre; it is under a four-centred arch of the fifteenth century, the upper

curves of which run soon after their origin into straight lines, bearing a finial on the vertex, while from the ends of the hood-moulding run up plain shafts, terminating in finials at the same level with that in the centre. The workmanship is not careful, and the sections of the mouldings show this arch to be somewhat later than the other portions of the building. The chancel arch, of two orders, plainly chamfered, rises from piers chamfered with caps under square abaci. In the south wall are two windows, square-headed, similar to those in the nave, a priest's door, and a sedile under a plain pointed arch, with a reclining back of rather unusual design. The piscina is in the wall towards the east of this. In the north wall is a window similar to the two others, and a doorway now blocked up. The east window is of three lights, and is here engraved.

In the middle of the chancel formerly stood a magnificent altar-tomb of alabaster, bearing recumbent figures of a knight and lady; but this was, in 1848, removed for greater safety to the chapel in the nave, where it is protected from further injury by a railing. Tradition states that the tomb was brought hither from the Friary of Llanvaes at the Dissolution, and that it belonged to some member of the Tudor family. There is nothing but tradition for the ground of this statement; it was, however, considered sufficiently authentic to induce her present Majesty to give £50 for the removal and reparation of this fine monument, not before it was time, for the parishioners had long been accustomed to chip off portions of the alabaster, and grind them into powder for medicinal purposes. The body of the tomb consists of slabs divided into a series of niches and pannelled compartments, bearing shields. No figures now remain under the canopies, and the armorial bearings on the shields have been so completely obliterated that only in one or two cases can a chevron be faintly traced. There is no inscription, nor any other indication whereby to discover the family of the personages whose effigies have been so elaborately and beautifully carved. They lie on separate





Tomb in Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

St. Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

St. Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

slabs, placed side by side; they are probably portraits, from the peculiarities of the features; and they have been executed with the utmost care. All the ornaments are admirably detailed, and the whole constitutes a good specimen of art at the end of the fourteenth century. In the engraving the recumbent figures are given, and the injuries they have sustained will be easily perceived.

Against the east wall of the chancel, over a projecting stone serving probably as a credence table, is a stone slab commemorating one of the connections of the Tudor family. It has a shield of arms, with these bearings, viz., Per pale,—1. A chevron between 3 Saracens' heads, (to dexter,) 2 and 1; crest, a Saracen's head. 2. Three conies, 2 and 1; crest, a coney; and this inscription,—

HERE LYETH INTERRED THE BODY
OF CONNINGESBY WILLIAMS LATE
OF PENMYNYDD IN THE CONNTY (*sic*) OF
ANGLESEY ESQ^R WHO BEING TWICE
MARRID HAD FOR HIS FIRST WIFE
MARG^T OWEN DAUGHT^R & HEIR OF RICH^D
OWEN TUDOR OF PENMYNYDD AFORES^D
& S^D CONNTY (*sic*) OF ANGLESEY ESQ^R DECED
& FOR HIS SECOND WIFE JANE
GLYNNE HEIR OF PLACE NEWYDD.
IN THE CONNTY OF CARNARVON. DECED

OBYT 26 FEB. A^O DĪN 1707
ÆTAT. 69.

Incrusted in one of the walls is a shield, bearing a chevron between three objects so much defaced as to render them impossible to be deciphered. They may represent the Saracen's heads of the shields just mentioned.

Gredifael was a saint who flourished in the sixth century, and under his invocation this church is erected. We find the following account of him in Professor Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 222 :—

"Gredifael and Fflewyn, sons of Ithel Hael, were appointed superintendents of the monasteries of Paulinus at Ty gwyn ar

Dâf, Carmarthenshire (Whitland?) Gredifael, whose festival is Nov. 13, may be considered the founder of Penmynydd, Anglesey; and Fflewyn is the saint of Llanfflewyn, a chapel subject to Llanrhyddlad, in the same county."

The orientation of the building is nearly due East.

In the church-yard, on the northern side of the chancel, there was dug up some years ago a considerable quantity of water-worn, roundish, white stones of amorphous quartz. These had no doubt been brought here on occasion of interments, when, as was usual in some parts of Wales during the middle ages, each mourner brought and deposited a white stone on or near the grave of the departed.

Not far from the church, towards the north-west, is Plas Penmynydd. This house, of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, has replaced one of older date, sometimes called Castell Penmynydd, supposed to have stood a little nearer the church. This is said to have been one of the original seats of the Tudor family, and like Tregarnedd, near Beaumaris, its possession may be traced back long before the Tudors came to the throne. There are no features of architectural importance remaining in this house, though all about it testifies to its date. On a stone in the wall towards the garden is the following:—

1576

R. O. T.

commemorating Richard Owen Tudor.

Over a doorway in the back premises is a stone thus inscribed,—

VIVE VT
VIVAS

Above one of the windows is

REPASTV
EST OPVS
LAVS DEO

Inside the stable occurs a stone bearing the date

16

18

and over the stable door and window another with

RO 1650
EO

There is a large beam inside one of the outhouses, apparently much charred. It bears an inscription hardly decipherable, and it was probably once used in the great hall of the mansion.

According to tradition this village was the spot whence issued the young man who married Catherine of France, Queen Dowager of England. There is little reasonable doubt that this was one of the cradles of the Tudor family; and hence it is more than usually interesting to the Welsh and English antiquary.

H. L. J.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WELSH.

I MUCH regret that various causes of delay have prevented my making an earlier reply to Mr. Wright's observations in the last volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.¹ Although I am quite unwilling to work the controversy until it becomes threadbare, I feel that it is one which lies so completely at the foundation of our national history, that it ought not to be abandoned so long as there remains a possibility of throwing further light upon it. But before re-opening the question, I must plead "Not Guilty" to two indictments of Mr. Wright's. After the most careful examination of my paper read at Monmouth, I cannot find a single instance in which I have interchanged the relative position of "facts and theories;"² neither am I conscious of any tendency to "chop logic"³ beyond the (as it appears to me) very legitimate inclination to cross-examine Mr. Wright's evidence, and to consider how far his facts are really capable of supporting his conclusions.

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1858, p. 289.

² See pp. 289, 294.

³ p. 294.

However, upon these points, as upon all others, let the reader judge between us.

It may be as well to remind those who have followed the controversy from the beginning, that Mr. Wright and myself are at issue upon two principal points: I have attacked his hypothesis of the origin of the Welsh *nation*; and he has made reprisals upon my own theory of the origin of the Welsh *name*. It is absolutely necessary to keep these questions distinct from each other, and, following the order of my former paper, I will treat of the latter point first, and of the former one subsequently, concluding with the discussion of certain collateral and subordinate questions, which have arisen in the course of the controversy.

In reference to my view of the connection of the word *Welsh*, with the names *Gael*, *Gaul*, &c., as Mr. Wright has touched upon it very lightly, I will not spend much time in defending it. It is by no means a "new hypothesis," as Mr. Wright appears to suppose, for I observe that it has already been promulgated by M. Amédée Thierry, in his *Histoire des Gaulois*. Perhaps I may be allowed to add, that I was not aware that this was the case when my former paper was printed, so that I arrived at the conclusion by an independent process.⁴ Mr. Wright doubts "whether the Teutonic *Wælsch*, and the name *Gaul* or *Gallic*, have any relation whatever to each other."⁵ To Mr. Wright's doubts I can only answer that I have no doubt on the subject. However, that I may not appear to reduce the question to a mere balance of authorities, I will add that the last three letters of the Teutonic word are merely an adjectival termination, and that the true root is *Wal*, which in accordance with an etymological law with which Mr. Wright must be familiar, is simply the same thing as *Gal*. It is no mere resemblance, but an absolute identity.⁶ Whether the *identity*

⁴ Indeed, the view, as I have since found, is as old as Verstegan.

⁵ p. 293.

⁶ *Ibid.*

may not be an accidental one is a totally distinct question. I have already laid before the reader what appear to me to be the probabilities on either side of the question, and have intimated the conclusion which in my opinion involves the fewest difficulties.⁷ But I will observe, before I quit the subject, that my theory does not, as Mr. Wright asserts, rest upon the assumption that the ancient Germans "were profoundly learned in the science of ethnology." When it is remembered that by far the majority of those who occupied the German frontiers of the Roman empire, and all those who were separated from the Germans by the comparatively slight barrier of the Rhine, were not merely of one race, but were recognized as such, not by ethnologists, but popularly, it certainly seems to be no very extravagant supposition, if we conceive that the Germans called those *Wælsch* whom the Romans called *Gauls*, and afterwards extended the term to other provincials to whom they stood in a similar relation. I admit that "people in the condition to which these arguments refer" did not always "call other people by the names which those people bore among themselves, or among still other people," but that they never did so, would be an assertion somewhat difficult of proof, and I doubt if we have evidence enough before us to show whether they "generally" did so, or not. I now quit this part of the subject, and hasten on to a more important question.

Mr. Wright's theory (if he will permit me so to designate it) rests upon two assumptions; first, that the Welsh and Breton languages resemble each other more nearly than could be the case if they had been separated as far back as the date of the Roman conquest of Britain; and secondly, that the phenomena of the two countries are such as to make it more likely that the Welsh are a colony of Armoricans, than that the Bretons are a colony of insular Britons. As regards the former assumption, Mr. Wright appears to acquiesce in my rejection of it, and then, in the

⁷ pp. 129—133.

very same paragraph, to argue as if I had admitted it.⁸ Moreover Mr. Wright has quietly ignored one of my main arguments, referring to this part of the subject.⁹ If the Welsh, who speak a language which, even in the thirteenth century, differed widely from that of the Bretons, were a colony from the Armoricans in the fifth century, when does Mr. Wright consider that Cornwall was colonized, the inhabitants of which, even in the last century, spoke a language nearly identical with that of the modern Armoricans?

But allowing, for the sake of argument, that we are reduced to Mr. Wright's dilemma, and that "either the Welsh went over to Gaul and became the Armoricans, or the Armoricans came over into Britain and became the Welsh," I can only repeat that it is a dilemma the traditional solution of which is, to my mind, far more probable than that which is offered by Mr. Wright. Before I proceed to examine the arguments by which the latter is supported, I must take the liberty of reminding Mr. Wright, that he has taken no notice of a fact upon which I have laid considerable stress,¹ and which seems to me to be utterly subversive to his theory. I allude to the first appearance of the *Britons*, under that name, in Armorica, just about the era to which he assigns his supposed migration *from* Armorica into Britain. I must also call his attention to a fact of which he can scarcely be ignorant, that the Breton language is actually spoken in a very small portion only of the ancient Armorica,² and that the very name of Armorican, when applied to the modern Breton, is, in fact, one of those "old words" which, as Mr. Wright says very truly, are often used "technically" at the present day. I mention this, merely in order to show that we are not to assume, before we have proved it, the identity of the modern Bretons with the ancient Armoricans.

⁸ See pp. 293, 294.

⁹ See p. 142.

¹ See p. 140.

² In this sense it may be true that there are "remains of an Armorican language distinct from the Breton," (see p. 295,) viz., the French of Haute-Bretagne, Normandy, &c.

Having premised so much, I must re-state Mr. Wright's argument. I cannot do it better than in his own words, and I will do so even at the risk of occupying more space than I am fairly entitled to.

"He asks on what grounds I draw 'a distinction between the condition of the two countries,' *i. e.*, Armorica and Wales. I thought that I had sufficiently stated this in the paper which has given rise to this, I hope not unimportant, controversy. Anyone who has really studied the Roman antiquities of Wales must know that it was traversed in every direction by a multiplicity of Roman roads, which penetrated even into its wildest recesses; that it was covered in all parts with towns, and stations, and posts, and villas, and mining establishments, which were entirely incompatible with the existence at the same time of any considerable number of an older population in the slightest degree of independence. Now we know that the population of Armorica, long before the supposed migration either way could have taken place, was living in a state of independence, and even of turbulence, and that it was formidable in numbers and strength. The Armoricans were almost the heart and nerve of that formidable 'Bagauderie' which threatened the safety of the Roman government in Gaul almost before the invasions of the Teutons became seriously dangerous. An attention to dates will put this part of the question more clearly before the reader. The great and apparently final assertion of independence, or revolt from the Roman government, of the Armoricans, which Mr. Basil Jones quotes from Zosimus, occurred in the year 406; Honorious acknowledged the independence of the towns of Britain in 410; and I need hardly add that what is understood by the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain occurred many years subsequently. During this period, when the towns of Britain must have been rejoicing in their independence, it is, I think, not probable that the people of this island would have migrated into Brittany in such numbers as in a short time to supersede the Armoricans themselves, for I am not aware that there are any remains of an Armorican language in Brittany distinct from the Breton. The subsequent history becomes obscure from the want of records; but I venture to assert that it is evident, from the few historical notices we have, (I throw aside altogether the fabulous legends of a later date,) that the Armoricans were at this time a numerous and warlike people, that when the Saxon pirates entered the Loire they sometimes joined them in attacking the Gauls, (as the people of the Roman province were called,) and sometimes resisted them; that they were evidently no less piratical than the Saxons themselves, and in all probability possessed numerous shipping;

that they did make war upon the Roman provinces just about the time that the Saxons were beginning to settle in Britain, and that they were driven back into their own territory by the governors of Gaul. Now I think there is nothing very extravagant in the supposition that the warlike energy of the Armoricans, having been repressed on the side of the continent, should have sought an outlet on the side of the sea, and that many adventurous chiefs may have collected their followers, taken to their ships, and, tempted by the known success of the Saxons, passed over into that part of Britain which the Teutonic invaders had not reached. I think, then, that the distinction which I have drawn between the condition of Wales and Armorica, at the time when the migration from one to the other is supposed to have taken place, is very plainly stated, and very fairly accounted for.”³

I have extracted this passage at length in order that the reader may have it before his eyes, while I comment upon it in detail. It is to be observed that Mr. Wright has not given a single reference to any original authority in support of his views, so that I am unable to say whether they are founded upon passages which have not come under my notice, or upon a different interpretation of those which have. For instance I can find no evidence that the population of Armorica was “living in a state of independence,” “long before the supposed migration either way could have taken place.” So far from being able to discover that “the Armoricans were almost the heart and nerve” of the insurrection of the Bagaudæ, I do not even find that the Bagaudæ were in any way connected with Armorica. In fact the scanty accounts of the Bagaudæ which have reached us, seem to connect them principally with other parts of Gaul.⁴ Mr. Wright’s account of the defection of Britain and Armorica respectively is singularly inaccurate, especially in the matter of chronology, a point upon which he appears especially to rely. I trust I shall not be thought tedious, if I go again over ground which has been so frequently trodden. The general invasion of Gaul by the barbarians, which occurred in the winter of 406, appears to have alarmed

³ pp. 294–296.

⁴ Zosimus, vi. 2. Life of St. Babolinus (*valeat quantum*).

the legions of Britain, as it had virtually cut them off from Italy, the centre of the imperial power. Accordingly they raised to the throne in rapid succession Marcus, Gratianus, and Constantine, the last of whom appears to have deserved their favour the least, as he retained it the longest. In the year 407 Constantine crossed over into Gaul, and occupied himself in strengthening the frontiers of the empire against the barbarians. He forced Sarus, who had been sent against him to assist the rights of Honorius, to retire into Italy. In 408 he sent his son Constans, whom he had raised to the dignity of Cæsar, into the Spanish peninsula, to secure himself against the kinsmen and supporters of Honorius. The jealousy of Gerontius, a Briton, whom Constans afterwards left in command in Spain, led him to intrigue with the barbarians, who made a second general invasion of Gaul in the same year. The same alarm which two years before had induced the legionaries in Britain to revolt from the existing authority of Honorius, now forced the inhabitants of the country to throw off all allegiance to the Roman empire.⁵ The example set in Britain was speedily followed in the whole of Armorica, and in other provinces of Gaul. Nothing can be more clearly stated than that the independence of Britain preceded that of Armorica.⁶ The supposed acknowledgment of that independence by Honorius in the year 410, when fairly examined, shrinks into a very small matter, if it does not vanish altogether. All that Zosimus tells us, and he is our only authority for the fact, is that "Honorius wrote to the cities (or states) in Britain, and advised them to be on the look out," an event which scarcely amounts to an acknowledgment of independence.⁷ But in fact it is more than

⁵ It is evident from the language of Zosimus that this second revolt was the act, not of the soldiers, but of the people.

⁶ Zosimus, vi. 2-6. Olympiodorus, *apud* Photium. Sozomen, ix. 11. Orosius, vii. 40.

⁷ Ὁνωρίου δὲ γράμμασι πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ χρωμένον πόλεις φυλάττεσθαι παραγγέλλουσι, δωρεαῖς τε ἀμειψαμένον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Ἡρακλείανου πεμφθέντων χρημάτων, ὁ μὲν Ὁνώριος ἦν ἐν

doubtful whether there is any allusion to Britain in the passage. The context in which it occurs has no reference to that country, but is chiefly occupied with the history of Alaric in Italy. Have we any authority for connecting the name of Alaric with that of Britain? Yes. Olympiodorus, as reported by Photius, informs us "that Rhegium is the chief town of Britain, from which Alaric desired to cross over into Sicily, but was detained."⁸ In the latter passage, the editors have not hesitated to alter the text, so as to make it say what it obviously means, not Britain, but Bruttium. I feel assured that anyone who reads the sixth book of the history of Zosimus, with any degree of attention to the connection and progress of events, will be convinced that the passage which is supposed to mark the final severance of Britain from the empire, requires a similar emendation, which, indeed, has been already proposed. The revolt of Britain, then, preceded that of Armorica, instead of following it, as asserted by Mr. Wright, after a lapse of four years.

Mr. Wright admits that we possess very scanty data for the history of Armorica between 410 and 450; but he has arrived at certain conclusions, from such evidence as we have, to which I cannot tell how far I am able to follow him, because I do not know what his evidence is worth. Before attempting to form any opinion on the subject I should be glad to have his evidences for the condition of Armorica during this period laid before me.⁹ It is true that it was subdued by the Romans¹ about the time that the Saxons were beginning to settle in Britain,

ῥαστώνη πάσῃ τῇν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἐπισπασάμενος εὐνοίαν.—Zosimus, vi. 10.

⁸ "Ὅτι τὸ Ῥήγιον μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἐξ οὗ φησὶν ὁ ἱστορικὸς Ἀλάριχον ἐπὶ Σικελίαν βουλόμενον περαιωθῆναι ἐπισχεθῆναι.—Olympiodorus, *apud* Photium. *Lege* Βρεττιάνης, or Βρεττίας.

⁹ It does not seem to me that the lines

"Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus

"Sperabat" &c.

necessarily prove an alliance between the Armoricans and the Saxons. See Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegyricus in Avitum*.

¹ *Ibid.*

and it is also true that an army of *Britons* (whatever we are to understand by the expression) menaced the Visi-Goths, occupied Bourges, and were subsequently forced to fall back upon Armorica.² Allowing, however, what I am not able to deny, that there is sufficient evidence that the Armoricans were "a numerous and warlike people" at this period, it must be remembered that, little as we know of them, we know absolutely nothing of the state of Wales at the same era, and can therefore have no grounds for drawing any distinction between the relative condition of the two countries in this respect. Moreover, the pressure which was felt in Armorica on the side of the Roman provinces had its parallel in Britain, in the attacks of the northern and Teutonic invaders. Accordingly, in order to be able to draw a distinction between the state of Wales and that of Armorica, we are forced back upon Mr. Wright's original position, viz., that Wales, at the close of what is called the Roman period, was thoroughly Romanized, while Armorica was still Celtic.

I must therefore proceed to examine the evidence upon which this position is founded. It is simply this: Wales was "traversed in every direction by a multiplicity of Roman roads," and "covered in all parts with towns, and stations, and posts, and villas."³ Strangely enough Mr. Wright never appears to have inquired into the Roman antiquities of Armorica. Attaching so much weight as he does to the mute evidence of monuments, it is surprising that he should not have asked to what extent the two countries agree or differ in this respect. But it appears that Armorica bears traces of Roman occupation in all its parts.⁴ Moreover, it is very remarkable that the

² Compare Jornandes *de Rebb. Gett.*, c. XLV. with Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* III. 9, and Greg. Turon., II. 18. An ingenious theory concerning Rhiothimus has been developed in *Arch. Camb.* for 1850, p. 208. I see no supposition altogether clear of difficulties.

³ *Arch. Camb.* for 1858, p. 294.

⁴ It appears from M. de Fréminville's *Antiquités de la Bretagne*, that no Roman remains had been discovered in the district of Léon

phenomenon which first led Mr. Wright to frame the theory of an Armorican emigration into Wales, exists in Armorica, that is to say in Basse-Bretagne, no less than in Wales.⁵ Who destroyed the Roman towns in Armorica? If invaders, why may they not have been settlers from Britain? If the inhabitants of the country, why may not the same have happened in Wales? I do not see, after all, how Mr. Wright is to escape from the *facile retorqueri potest*.

Mr. Wright and myself are to a certain extent at issue upon the previous question, how far Britain generally had adopted the language of Rome. One of Mr. Wright's main arguments in support of his view is based upon the name applied by the Teutonic invaders to the inhabitants of the country. He says,—

"We find that the Teutons had a word [*Wälsch*, &c.] in their own language which they appear to have applied especially to those who spoke the language of Rome."⁶

"We know that the Anglo-Saxon writers often speak of the inhabitants of this island, whom the Romans conquered, by the name of Britons, because they had learned that name from the Roman writers; but we also find that the term they especially applied to them in their own language was this same Teutonic word, *Wælisc*, or *Wælsce*. I think it perfectly fair to argue upon this, that the Teutons who came into Britain applied the word in no different sense to that in which it was used by the rest of their race, and that they therefore found the people talking the language of the Romans."⁷

What then is the evidence that the continental Teutons, at the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, applied the term in question "especially to those who spoke the *language of Rome*?" The statement is supported by an induction of instances, which I have myself anticipated, and which only go to prove that the continental Teutons in the middle ages applied the term to those who spoke languages derived from that of Rome. Even at the risk of

when he wrote; but it seems from the letter of "A Breton Member," in the last volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, that they have been found at various points in that district.—p. 420.

⁵ p. 294.

⁶ p. 291.

⁷ p. 292.

inflicting upon Mr. Wright another *facile retorqueri potest*, I will beg the reader to compare his mode of reasoning with the admirable canon which he has himself laid down:—

“I would particularly insist on the necessity, in discussions of this kind, with regard to words especially, of keeping perfectly distinct the ideas attached to them at different periods, and under different circumstances; as for instance, during the Roman period, during the middle ages, and in modern times, when old words are often applied technically.”⁸

“The objections to this [*i. e.* his own] view of the case,” says Mr. Wright, “are mere assumptions. What right have people to say ‘it is very probable that Britain was much less Romanized than Gaul,’ or ‘I think’ that such was the case?”⁹ Because Gaul was first conquered. Because Gaul was nearer to the source of civilization. Because Gaul offered a more attractive territory under a more genial sky. Because the Britons are spoken of almost to the end as *penitus toto divisos orbe*, while Gaul possessed its schools of Roman rhetoric, and contributed its share to the stock of Roman literature. Because Gaul has still its Arles and Treves to show, its *Maison Carrée* and its *Palais Gallien*. But even in Gaul, it is by no means certain that the Celtic language had died out in remote districts by the fifth century. Not to mention Armorica, in which it *may* have been preserved, upon my view, and *must* have been upon Mr. Wright’s,—or Gascony, in a part of which it seems probable that the old Aquitanian speech is still living,¹—there is a certain amount of evidence that the original languages were spoken in various parts of Gaul down to a period not far distant from the times of which we are speaking. The following facts, the first two of which have been frequently brought forward, appear to prove the existence of a Celtic

⁸ p. 289.

⁹ p. 292.

¹ Of course the Aquitanian was not Celtic in one sense, and if it is, as I here suppose it to be, represented by the Basque, it was not Celtic in any sense of the word. But if it was able to resist the influence of Latin, the Celtic language may have done the same.

language in three different parts of the country at a comparatively late date.

First, St. Jerome states very distinctly, that a language differing but slightly from that which was still spoken by the Galatians, existed in the neighbourhood of Treves.² We must not forget that Jerome had lived at Treves.

Secondly, Sulpicius Severus, in one of his Dialogues, represents an Aquitanian as anxious to hear the history of St. Martin in whatever language the narrator may prefer to relate it. "Speak even Celtic, or Gallic, if you prefer it, so long as you speak of Martin."³

Thirdly, Sidonius Apollinaris tells Ecdicius that it is owing to him that the nobles of Auvergne have "rubbed off the rust of their Celtic language,"⁴ and I find it difficult to interpret the last two instances, and impossible to interpret the first, in any other way than according to their obvious and literal meaning. As regards the force of Mr. Wright's argument in pp. 291, 292, we must remember that during the four or five centuries in which the Roman tongue was mastering that of the Franks, it would not be difficult for it to absorb that of the Celts.

But the inscriptions which have been found in Britain "are all purely Latin, without any trace of Celtic language, or Celtic people," and that "not only on the borders of Wales, but in the very heart of that moun-

² Hieronym. Prolog. ad Comm. in Galat. lib. II.

³ Sulp. Sever. *Dialog.* I. 20. From comparing this passage with the first chapter of the second Dialogue, I feel no doubt that *Gallicè* means the corrupt Latin of northern Gaul, the origin of the *Langue d'oïl*, and that *Celticè* means *bonâ fide* Celtic. We must remember that the Aquitanian is speaking hyperbolically, and we must not therefore suppose that he necessarily understood the Celtic language. If this view be true, then I do not see how we are to avoid giving a similar interpretation to the passage quoted below from Sidonius Apollinaris.

⁴ *Epist.* III. 3. "Mitto istic ob gratiam pueritiæ tuæ undique gentium confluxisse studia literarum, tuæque personæ quondam debitum quod sermonis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam carminibus modis, imbuebatur. Illud, in te affectum principaliter universitatis accendit, quod quos olim Latinos fieri exegeras, deinceps esse barbaros vetuisti." The last clause of all refers to his defence of Auvergne against the Goths.

tainous country.”⁵ Granted. What follows from this? That the Celtic language was obliterated “in the very heart of that mountainous country,” because we find no Celtic inscriptions there? If so, by parity of reasoning it ought to have been obliterated in Armorica also, where, to the best of my knowledge, no Celtic inscriptions have ever been discovered. But in point of fact the early monumental inscriptions in Wales and Cornwall, which date from a time when Mr. Wright would allow that the language of those countries was Celtic, and which contain proper names of unmistakably Celtic character, are, with hardly an exception, in Latin. But I am quite prepared to admit that during the Roman occupation of the country, the sort of people who would put up inscriptions, or have them put up in their honour, would speak Latin; so that it is not so much to be wondered that there should be no “trace of Celtic language, or Celtic people.”

I ought to express my obligation to Mr. Wright for at length stating the evidence for the destruction of the Roman towns in Wales, and for the period of that destruction.⁶ Assuming that the examinations which have already been made are sufficient to set at rest all doubt as to the class of objects which are or are not to be found upon the sites of those towns, I still do not feel that the absence of later coins is an evidence of their destruction at the so-called close of the Roman period. I do not think it has yet been made out what sort of money was current in Wales during the succeeding ages, or, in fact, whether generally speaking any metallic coinage was in use. Further, the instances alleged by Mr. Wright of *large* Roman towns in that country are, after all, only four,—Wroxeter, Kentchester, Caerleon, and Caerwent. The first of these scarcely comes within the prescribed limits, and has not yet been thoroughly investigated.⁷

⁵ Arch. Camb. for 1858, p. 292.

⁶ See p. 304, *note*.

⁷ So far from it, indeed, that I understand that Mr. Wright is going to superintend further excavations there.

The second is, to say the least, on debateable ground. Caerleon, as is admitted by Mr. Wright himself, presents doubtful appearances. Both Caerleon and Caerwent are near the coast, and might have easily have been destroyed during the general confusion following the withdrawal of the Roman military power, without supposing that the Cymry were the destroyers. In the main, however, it is true, for all that Mr. Wright has shown to the contrary, in this case as in others, that "like causes produce like effects." As geographical position, physical difficulties of approach, and the natural sterility of a country are immutable causes, it is not probable that we shall ever find any very great variation in the results. The exceptions urged by Mr. Wright only prove the rule, as they have their modern parallels.

I will now turn to one or two minor points, of which I feel that I ought to take notice before I quit the subject. I am convinced that Mr. Wright does not mean (as his words might lead us to conceive),⁸ either that he supposes that all the so-called "Romans" in the provinces, or indeed in Rome itself, were in any intelligible sense of the word "of Roman race,"—or that he is ignorant of the fact, that the conquered inhabitants of Gaul are invariably styled "Romans" in the laws of their barbarian conquerors; that the first victory of Clovis was over a so-called "rex Romanorum;" and that at the opposite extremity of the empire, not only those who speak a language corrupted from that of ancient Rome, but those also who speak a language scarcely less corrupted from that of ancient Greece, boast that they are "Romans," except where (in the latter instance) they may have abandoned the designation, under the influence of an absurd revivalism. It is true that, "during the mediæval period, the term Roman was no longer applied to race, but to language," so that "the French language was Roman, the Spanish was Roman, the Italian was Roman."⁹ But

⁸ See p. 290.

⁹ *Ibid.*

why were these languages called Roman? Not because they were derived from the language of Rome, which was never known by that name, but because they were the languages of the "Romans," that is to say of the Romanized inhabitants of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, as distinguished from the Franks, Burgundians, Goths, or Lombards. In like manner the modern Greek is called Roman, obviously not because it was the language of Rome, but because it is the language spoken by those who represent the subjects of the Eastern Empire. However, to say the truth, I do not think that this point very seriously affects the argument, in the present state of our knowledge of the history of Britain.

I must request Mr. Wright to take notice, that my allusion to Gildas was entirely *ex abundanti*, and was made only in order to save myself from the charge of having omitted to observe that his testimony, whatever it may be worth, bears on the point at issue. I had not as yet met with any historian of note, who had refused to accept and make use of the evidence of the work commonly attributed to him. I conceive therefore that I was justified in using the expression which has elicited an indignant protest from Mr. Wright, and which was very far from being intended to "decide the question of the authority of Gildas." I was so far from being aware that Mr. Wright had "started the objections to Gildas," that I did not even *know* that he entertained them, although I judged (as it appears, rightly) that his historical views were inconsistent with a belief in the genuineness of the work.¹

¹ It is beside my purpose to open the question of the degree to which Britain was Christianized during the Roman period; but I need hardly say that the absence of Christian monuments from the ruins of the Roman towns is not sufficient to prove that Christianity had not spread among them. What Christian memorials have we in Gaul, or how many have we even in Italy, belonging to the period now referred to? With regard to Gaul, the temple of *Dea Sequana* only proves, what we know perfectly well from other sources, that heathenism was not extinct in Gaul in the time of Maximus. But when we recollect the tumultuous proceedings of St. Martin, about the same time, it strikes

I must beg to observe, that the accuracy of the comparison, and the soundness of the logic involved in a sentence quoted from my paper in p. 301,² depends entirely upon the question whether Cumberland is so called as being the land of the Cumbri, or whether the Cumbri are so called as being the inhabitants of Cumberland. I confess that I had assumed the former solution of the question, and Mr. Wright has assumed the latter. Accordingly, with somewhat less than his usual amount of caution, he charges me with having "quoted the Saxon Chronicle very incorrectly." This indeed is a charge which, for once, *facile retorqueri non potest*; since Mr. Wright, so far from having quoted any of his authorities incorrectly, has not taken the trouble to quote them at all. But although the charge cannot be retorted, it can be denied. I have not quoted the Saxon Chronicle incorrectly, since I have given the exact words in a foot-note.³ It is true that I may have misinterpreted the words, but the truth or falsehood of my interpretation depends upon the truth or falsehood of my assumption above stated. But I must request Mr. Wright to observe, that I did not quote the words against him, or in order to prove that Cumberland was at that time in possession of the Cymry,⁴ but (assuming that it was in their possession) in order to mark the earliest mention of them under that name by other than Welsh writers. When Mr. Wright says that

me as not impossible that the temple of the goddess may have been overthrown, not by an army of barbarian invaders, but by a mob of Christian iconoclasts. I may be permitted to add, in reference to the inscription quoted by Mr. Wright in p. 299, that neither cremation, nor the formula D.M., are necessarily proofs of Paganism. See Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vi. p. 275.

² "It is no more evident that the Brigantes of Ireland and the Brigantes of Britain were kindred tribes, than that the Cumbri of the North and the Cymry of Wales were so." Mr. Wright adds:—"I beg to observe that this is a very inaccurate comparison, and not very sound logic."

³ p. 144.

⁴ If Mr. Wright will take the trouble to read the first sentence of my P.S. (p. 149) he will see that when I cited the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, he had not raised the question about Cumberland.

"this word [Cumbra-land] is *always considered* to have had in the mouth of an Anglo-Saxon a simple meaning, *the land of vallies*," he uses an expression which I cannot describe otherwise than as hyperbolical; as I confess that I never heard of this derivation before, whereas that which I have taken for granted, has been, I think, very generally accepted and recognized.⁵

I do not wish, however, to enter at present into any further consideration of the etymology of Cumberland, as it would lead the controversy away from the main point, with which it is only secondarily connected. But I think it right to say, before concluding, that although I have considerable doubts about Mr. Wright's etymology for the word *caer*,⁶ and although his instances alleged to prove that it *may* be Gaelic, are only pertinent upon the supposition that Gaelic was ever spoken in the districts in which Carvoran and Caerlaverock are situated (a fact not yet proved), I withdraw my denial that *caer* is Gaelic, as I believe the Irish word *cathair* would be so pronounced.⁷ On the other hand I cannot quit the subject without observing that Mr. Wright's rendering of Bede is remarkably inaccurate. Bede does not tell us that the Angles corrupted *Lugubalia* into *Luel*, but that *Luel* was the corrupted form of the name by which they designated the place.⁸ And I must observe at the same time that if *caer* is a corruption of *castrum*, it has, to say the least, a peculiarly Celtic physiognomy, and is to the best of my knowledge without parallel in any of the Romance lan-

⁵ Upon second thoughts, I am doubtful whether Mr. Wright means that this is "always considered" to be the derivation of the name, or merely that as the name is "always considered" (an odd way of putting it, if that is all he means) to be capable of bearing this interpretation, so this is probably the true etymology.

⁶ The Breton form of the word, *her*, enters into the names of many more places than can be supposed to have been Roman stations.

⁷ Arch. Camb. for 1858, p. 303.

⁸ The fact that Bede calls the place *Luel* without the *Caer*, is no evidence that it was not so called by a Celtic tribe immediately surrounding it. *Caer*, being an appellative, might easily be prefixed or not, even by the same speaker on different occasions. The same sort of thing takes place every day in the case of local names.

guages. I say this, because I presume that Mr. Wright supposes his "previous population" who lived intermixed with the Angles in Northumberland to have talked corrupted Latin, and not Celtic. Otherwise his whole argument falls to the ground.

In conclusion, I will remark that two problems have arisen out of this controversy, each of which has an independent value, while both of them are more or less involved in the question between Mr. Wright and myself.

First, When and how did the inhabitants of that part of the Armorican peninsula, in which the Celtic language still survives, first acquire the name of *Britons*?

Secondly, Who and what were the race who appear under the same name, as well as other names, in the north of England and south of Scotland, and who appear on different occasions to be clearly distinguished from the English, the Scots, and the Picts respectively?

These are two questions which are well worthy the attention of the Association, but which I refrain from touching on now, feeling that it is desirable to keep the present controversy within as narrow limits as possible. And as regards the controversy itself, whenever it is brought to a close, I shall request members to get rid as far as possible of preconceived opinions, and to form a judgment upon the whole. Any one of the papers which have been contributed to it, can only give a very partial view of the merits of the question. They should all be read connectedly, and in order. Neither party must be surprized to find himself driven out of more than one position, which he had previously assumed or maintained, in his own opinion, on sufficient ground. This is only the common law of polemics of every kind:—

"Cædimus; inque vicem præbemus crura sagittis:

"Vivitur hoc pacto: sic novimus."

W. BASIL JONES.

University College, December 11, 1858.

LLEWELYN AP GRYFFYDD AND THE MORTIMERS.

It has been remarked by an eminent individual, that the history of England is yet to be written; with how much greater force would the observation apply to the history of Wales during the middle ages; for the researches of Thierry, the historian of the Conquest of England by the Normans, show what rich materials are to be found among the archives of France to elucidate the annals of our Principality. Doubtless, historical treasures of equal importance are buried at the present moment in the presses of the Vatican and public libraries of Italy, as well as in those of Spain, where Welshmen fought in the fourteenth century on the side of Henry Transtamare against Pedro the Cruel, and assisted in expelling the English from the latter country. To exhume most important documents there needs only the indefatigable industry of some future Thierry.

Political motives induced our English rulers to destroy almost every record and seal connected with the dominion of the native princes of Wales, and this can alone account for their absence among the public records in England; but in the Imperial Library, and in the Treasury of Public Archives at Paris, may be found what we cannot produce in this country—invaluable parchments with the seals of the original princes of Wales, and of their disinherited descendants. Among the latter may be instanced Evain of Wales, better known as Evain de Galles, a great commander by sea and land, on the side of France, in the wars against Edward III., and who also went on an embassy from the French king to the court of Spain; Jehan Wyn, his relative and brother in arms, (the famous *Poursuivant d'Amours*,) so renowned in the pages of Froissart;¹ and lastly, Owen Glyndwr, the heir and re-

¹ Prince Evain of Wales and the *Poursuivant* each commanded a body of men-at-arms, all Welshmen, in the service of France, whose names may be seen on the original muster rolls, in the Imperial

presentative of Evain, for he claimed the alliance of the French king in right of his kindred, and actually bore the arms of Evain de Galles. These documents are for the most part in a fine state of preservation, thanks to the care of the French record keepers, and I throw out a suggestion that the sooner they are photographed the better, for fear of some irreparable accident.

In the Trésor des Archives, 14. J. 665, may be found a letter addressed by Llewelyn (ap Griffith) to Philip (the Hardy) King of France, with the fragment of the great seal attached; the document is on vellum, and though nearly six hundred years old, the skin is perfectly white, and the ink jet black; the writing so beautiful, and the specimen altogether so striking, that some one in old times, judging from the indorsement in ancient court-hand of a much ruder character, marked it with the word "pulchra;" thus stamping upon the skin admiration of its beauty—no mean compliment to the civilized state of the administration of the prince from whose court it emanated.

My present object is, however, to draw attention to two letters describing not only a painful episode in the history of Wales, but proving very clearly that there existed a body of clergy in the Principality in Llewelyn's reign who, if they did not question the supremacy of the Pope, at all events disputed the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to issue interdicts into Wales, and who dared to perform the sacred offices of their religion to an excommunicated prince and people,—an act of courageous independence perhaps unexampled in Europe in those days.

I have made copies of these documents, and they will find an appropriate place in our Journal, so that we may have a clear and intelligible translation; for, strange to say, they have been misunderstood, and the persons who figure in them confounded by every writer who has commented upon the final struggle of Llewelyn for the independence of Wales.

Library. It may perhaps be unnecessary to explain that the names so frequently repeated in the muster rolls of a Welsh militia regiment in the present day are not to be found among them.

The first letter, in ancient Norman-French, is written by John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Edward I., who was then resident at Rhuddlan Castle; it is dated at Pembridge, in Herefordshire, on Tuesday after the feast of St. Lucy, 1282. The second letter, in Latin, was written at the same period by the archbishop to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the king's chief minister, or almoner, then also at Rhuddlan, and upon the same subject.

The letter addressed to the king commences by acquainting the monarch that there were found upon the body of Llewelyn when he fell, among other things carefully concealed upon his person, a treasonable letter, referring to certain individuals under disguised or fictitious names, and intimating that this treasonable letter, together with Llewelyn's privy-seal, also found on his person, were then in the possession of Edmund de Mortimer, who kept them awaiting the king's pleasure; and the archbishop tells the king that he had sent a transcript of the treasonable letter to the Bishop of Ba. (Bath and Wells), but he prayed that no one (of the traitors) should be put to death, or suffer *mahung* or *maihem* (violently depriving another of the defensive members of his body) on account of his report, which he had forwarded merely for the king's curiosity or information.

The primate then proceeds to state that "Dame Maude Lungespeye had besought him by letters to absolve Llewelyn, so that his body might be buried in consecrated ground; but he had told her he could do nothing unless it could be proved that Llewelyn had shown signs of true repentance before he expired."

"Edmund de Mortemer," he goes on to state, "had told him that he had heard from his *vallets* (foot soldiers) who were present at the death, that he (Llewelyn) had called for a priest before his death." "But without right certainty," wrote the primate, "we could do nothing" to absolve him.

There was no proof that the call had been responded to; the dying prince asked for a priest in the moment of his dissolution, and he asked in vain; if it could have been

shown that an ecclesiastic had obeyed the summons, there would have been proof that the last offices of the church had been performed over the body of the dying penitent, and the archbishop's scruples might have been removed.

Then we come to another paragraph altogether unconnected with the one just quoted, and it evidently refers to another period of time.

"With that (information) know that the same day that he was killed, a white monk sang a mass to him, and Sir Roger de Mortemer supplied the vestments;" that is to say, the priest's vestments to enable the wandering white monk to perform, not the prayers for the dying, but a mass in an earlier portion of the day, and perhaps before the prince set out on his hazardous expedition.

"Avec so, sachez ke le jur meymes ke il fut ocis, un muygne blaunc li chaunzo messe, e Messire Roger de Mortemer ad les vestemens."

The word *ad* has been carelessly rendered *had* by some translator, and all subsequent writers have blindly followed each other in copying it, and to reconcile a contradiction have treated Edmund de Mortimer and Sir Roger de Mortimer as one and the same person.

The white monk was, perhaps, one of the clerics referred to in the latter portion of the letter, following the footsteps of the prince without the regular vestments of an officiating priest at the altar; or he might have been a member of some religious establishment in the neighbourhood; the vestments were absolutely necessary to enable the mass to be said; and Sir Roger de Mortimer, who was Llewelyn's cousin, and most probably one of the magnates named in the treasonable letter, supplied them from his own chapel; for in the middle ages to die out of the pale of the church, and unassailed, was the most dreadful prospect to a Christian, and in his imagination subjected his soul to eternal damnation.

Most writers have treated the two Mortimers referred to in this letter as one person; they were different individuals, each impelled by distinct political feelings. Edmund Mortimer, with John Giffard, was at the head of

the Herefordshire men in pursuit of Llewelyn, who was known to be in the Marches of South Wales, endeavouring to excite the disaffected borderers to unite with him against King Edward; it was Edmund Mortimer's force that surprized Llewelyn, and they were his foot-soldiers who were present at his death and searched his person.

There is no mention of Sir Roger de Mortimer save in the paragraph referring to the white monk; he was, as before stated, closely related to Llewelyn; he owned large estates in the Marches of Herefordshire, among them Ewyas Lacy; and Llewelyn's object in proceeding to Builth was to induce Roger Mortimer and other magnates, either Welsh or English, to join his standard, or to remain neuter in the struggle.

There is a significant item in the roll of expenses of King Edward I., at Rhuddlan, in 1282, under the head of "Wardrobe Expenses,"—

Tuesday, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, paid for six ells of Web Cloth, and six ells of strong fine linen, bought for pennons and Welsh Standards of Ewyas, and for making of the same. } 0 13 4

Why were these pennons and Welsh standards of Ewyas made at Rhuddlan? Were they Roger Mortimer's ensign in the field? If so, is it not reasonable to conclude that they were intended for some ruse or strategetic movement against the Welsh prince?

"Master R. Giffard" had under his command upwards of one thousand archers at Rhuddlan, in 1282. *John Giffard* is stated to have acted with Edmund de Mortimer when Llewelyn was surprized at Aberedwy; is it not probable that Llewelyn mistook the force for a friendly one by reason of the Welsh standards of Ewyas thus manufactured under Edward's own eye at Rhuddlan?

These crude suggestions are tendered with diffidence; but it is hoped they may, like a ray of light thrown into a vault, excite closer examination into ancient records bearing upon our national history. Should they be favourably entertained, I may hereafter draw attention to the interesting memorials of the gallant Evan of Wales,

and of his companions in arms, John Wyn, and other Welshmen, who fought in the French armies during the great struggle against Edward III., towards the close of the fourteenth century.

WM. HUGHES.

Rhyl.

Letter from Archbishop Peckham to King Edward I.

A Trechir Seyner Ed^d Deu grace Rey de Engleterre Seynior d Irelande Duc d Aquain, frere Jan par la suffrance Deu Ercevesque de Canterbir Primat de tut Engleterre saluz en graunt Reverence.

Sire,—Sachez ke ceus, ke furent a la mort Lewelin truverent au plus privé lu de son cors méime, choses ke nus avoms veues; entre les autres choses ili ont une lettre disguisee par faus nuns de traysun.

E pur co ke vus seyez, nus enveyum le transcrit de la lettre a le Evesk de Ba; e la lettre meymes tient Eadmund de Mortemor, e le prive Seel Lewellin a ses choses vus purrez aver a votre pleyisir; e co nus maundum pur vus garnir, e nun pas pur ce ke nul en seyt greve, e vus priums ke nul ne sent mort; ne mayhun par nostre maundement, e ke sce ke nus vus maundums seyt fete.

Ovekes co, sire sachez, ke dame Mahaud Lungespeye nus pria par lettres ke nus vosissimus asoudre Lewelin ke il peust entre enselevi en lu dedie; e nus li maundames ke nus ne frums riens si len ne poet prouver ke il mustra Seigne de Verraye repentaunce avant sa mort.

E si me dist Edmund de Mortemer ke il aveyt entendu par ses valles ke furent a la mort ke il avet demaunde le Prestre devaunt sa mort.

Mes sauntz dreyte certeynete nous nen frems riens.

Ovec co sachez ke le jur meymes ke il fut ocis, un Muygne blaunc li chaunzo messe e Messire Roger de Mortemer ad le vestemens.

Ovec so sire, nus vus requerums ke piete vus prenge de Clers ke vus ne suffrez pas ke len les ocie, ne ke len lers face mau de cors.

E Sachez Sire Dieus vus defende de mal, si vus ne le desturbez a votre poer, vus cheez en sentence, kar souffrir ce ke len peut disturber vaut consentement.

E pur ce sire vus priums ke il vus pleyse ke il Clers, qui sunt in Snaudone, sen puissent issir e quereler mieuz, one lur biens en Fraunce, ou ayllurs; kar pur co ke nus creums ke Snaudone serra vostre se il avient ke en conqueraunt, ou apres len face mal

as Clers, Dieus la rettera a vus, e votre bon renun en serra blesmi, e nus enserrums tenuz pur lasches.

E de ces choses Sire si il vust plect maunder nus vostre pleysir, kar nus i mettrum le conseyl ke nus purrums, ou par aler la, ou par outre voye.

E Sachez Sire ke si vas ne fetes nostre priere vus nus mettrez en tristur, dunt vus instrum ja en ceste vie mortale.

Sire Dieus gard vus, e kaunt a vus apent.

Cette lettre fu escrete a Pembrugg le jeodi apres la Seynte Lucie.—*Rymer*, vol. ii. p. 224.

Letter from Archbishop Peckham to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

De Cedula, infra Femoralia Lewelini quondam Principis Walliæ inventa multorum nomina Magnatum continente.

Frater J. permissione divinâ Cantuarⁱ Eccl^{iæ} minister humilis totius Angliæ Primas Venerabili in Chris^o Patri D^o B Dei gra^t Bathonem & Wellen Epis^o Salutem & fraternæ dilectionis in Dom^o continuum incrementum.

Quia quæ in Domⁱ nosⁱ Regis Dapn^m & periculum vergere dinoscuntur, detegere debet fidelis quilibet & ea sibi nullatenus occultare; nosque inter alios ipsius honorem & magnificentiam ab inimicorum insidiis esse tutam intime affectantes, mittimus vobis quandam cedulam præsentibus interclusam obscuram quidem verbis & fictis nominibus conceptam cujus transcriptum quod habet dominus Ede Mortuo mari inventum fuit in bracali Lewelini quondam principis Walliæ, una cum sigillo suo parvo quod sub salva teneri facimus custodia Domino Regi, si placuerit transmittendum.

Ex qua quidem cedula satis conicere potestis quod quidam magnates vicini Wallensibus sive Marchienses sive alii non satis sunt Domini Regis beneplacitis uniformes circa quod Dominium nobis & vobis est nullum periculum proveniat corporale et de hoc solcite caveatis.

Ad hæc intelleximus quod non nulli Clerici apud Rothelan in opprobrium Cleri & Eccl^{iæ} contemptum inter prædones & malefactores alios cotidie capitali sententia puniuntur; quod ne de cætero fiat vestræ solitudinis studium apponatis.

Et certe dolemus valde de Clericis illis, qui maneant in Snau-donia desolati, quod libenter nobiscum adduxissimus ad propria, dum in partibus illis extitimus si hoc clementiæ Regiæ placuisset; nec poterit se Dominus Rex excusare saltem de favore, si de eis, quod avertat Deus, male contingat: unde si quid pro eis sciveritis aut obtinere potestis, quod ad eorum libertatem & securitatem possit nostro ministerio expedire, scribatis nobis & nos parati

erimus pro eis ab instantibus periculis eruendis ad honorem Dei quantam poterimus etiam corporaliter laborare.

Præterea sunt quidam Dei & Eccles^{ie} inimici, quos nuper in Exon Dioc. visitantes, jurisdictioni nostræ & processibus nostris invenimus multipliciter adversantes mandata nostra & Eccl^{ie} dampnabiliter contempnendo; propter quod meruerunt a nobis lata tempore majoris excommunicationis sententia exigente justitia innodari ne igitur se militiæ suæ in contemptum Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ valeant gloriari aut alios suis perniciosis exemplis inficiant pro captione eorundem excommunicatorum, prout per nost^{am} patentam litteram petimus, rescribatis si placet.

De Benivolentia autem vestra quam ad nos geritis, continue negotia nost^a feliciter Fraternalit^{er} vestræ quantas valemus gratiarum actiones rependimus; parati semper vestris beneplacitis quantum secundum Deum possumus favorabiliter assentire.

Valeat vestra Fraternalitas in Ch^o semper & virgine gloriosa; nobis si quid apud nos volueritis, cum fiducia rescribentes.

Si Dom^o Rex velit habere transcript^{um} illud, quod inventum fuit in bricali Lewelini, poterit ipsum habere a Dom^o Eadmundo de Mortuo Mari qui custodit illud cum Sigillo privato ejusdem cum quibusdam aliis in eodem loco inventis; nec est periculum hoc Dom^o Regi insinuare, quod ad ejus præmunitionem tantum agimus; faciat tamen ulterius quod sibi viderit expedire.

Domino R Bathon et Wellen Episcopo.—*Rymer*, vol. ii. p. 224.

[We hope at some future period to lay accurate copies of the MSS. and seals mentioned in this paper before the Association. The proper steps have been taken for this purpose.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

EARLY INSCRIBED STONES OF WALES.

THE two early inscribed stones, of which engravings are now given for the first time to the public, have been preserved by the care of one of our members, Charles Wynne, Esq., of Pentrevoelas, on the lawn of whose house, at Cefn Amwlch, Caernarvonshire, they are now deposited.

Mr. Wynne states that they were brought from a small farm on his estate, called Gors, between Cefn Amwlch and Aberdaron, and that they stood in what is supposed to have been the burial-ground of an old church, the site of which is still discernible. About fifteen years ago the tenant was going to bring the spot into cultivation, and the stones were then removed, for safety, to their present resting-place. Mr. Wynne conjectures that this church may not improbably have been one of the chain of similar buildings which were erected along the ancient route to Bardsey from Bangor, through Caernarvon, Clynnog, Llanaelhaiarn, &c. This supposition appears well founded, for either the stones may have been primarily erected and inscribed there, or they may have been brought thither from Bardsey itself after the dissolution of the monastery. The line of road for pilgrims to the Isle of Saints went most probably through Nevin and Tudweiliog; but whether it thence proceeded through Meyllteyrn, Bryn-croes, and Aberdaron, to the eastward of Mynydd Cefn Amwlch and Rhos Hirwaen, or else to the westward of those hills, by the sea-coast, through Llangwnadl and Bodferin to Eglwys Fair, at the extreme point of the promontory, is not quite certain. The farm of Gors (*query*, Glan-y-Gors?) lies near Bodwrdda and Ffynnon Ddurdan, described in *Arch. Camb.*, First Series, iv. p. 208, and is near the former of these two lines of road.

The stones themselves are almost cylindrical in form, with rounded pear-shaped ends, very smooth in surface, and seem to be water-worn boulders, brought perhaps from the sea-shore.



Stone at Cefn Amwlch.

The accompanying illustrations are made from rubbings kindly sent by Mr. C. Wynne, and will give an



Stone at Cefn Amwlch.

idea of the general appearance of the stones and their inscriptions, which, it will at once be seen, are of a character quite unlike that of any of the inscriptions hitherto published, not only as regards the form of the letters, but

also the style of the inscriptions themselves. It is evident that they are cotemporary, and I should be inclined to regard them as of the tenth or eleventh century, that is, some time before the introduction of the angulated Gothic, or rounded Lombardic (as they are miscalled) letters. They record the sepulture of ecclesiastics; the first stone showing them to have been members of a fraternity. The records of the locality will probably afford a clue to the history of this establishment. The first and most important of these stones is evidently to be read,

SENACVS
PR[—]SB
HIC IACIT
CVM MVLTV
DINEM
FRATRVM.
.....
.....
FRE ET...

The long thin form of the entirely Roman capitals of this inscription will attract attention, as well as the mode of contraction of the word *presbyter*, and the extraordinary conjunction of most of the letters of the fourth and fifth lines. The false Latinity of the word *multitudinem* is almost surprising. The lower part of the stone is much rubbed, and the letters FRE ET (. fratre et ?) are almost defaced.

Unless it were to record the burial of the superior of the community, and a number of his companions, perhaps slaughtered at one time, the formula is certainly a curious one. The second stone is easily to be read,

MERACIVS
PB[—]R
HIC
IACIT.

Except in the conjunction of the first and second letters, the ill-shaped third letter R, (the bottom stroke of which should join the first of the following A,) and the equally ill-shaped B in the second line, this inscription

does not offer any observation of note. The length of the first of these stones is 3 feet 6 inches, and its diameter varying from 6 to 18 inches; and the length of the second stone is 3 feet, and its width varying from 6 to 12 inches. The letters vary from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

The engravings have been reduced by *camera lucida* from the rubbings.

J. O. WESTWOOD, M.A.

Oxford, December, 1858.

ST. GERMANUS, OR GARMON, BISHOP OF AUXERRE.

ST. GERMANUS, or Garmon, belongs to the "debatable ground" between history and legend. Hence a critical account of him would require much sifting of authorities. Yet he was so largely concerned in an eventful crisis of the fortunes of the British Church, that some sketch of his biography, even without much care to distinguish its more fanciful features, may be thought not unworthy of attention.

Of the saint's early days we find the following story:—

He possessed a large estate, and found amusement in hunting. After each day's sport he used to hang the heads of the beasts he had slain on a pine-tree in the town of Auxerre, until Amator, bishop of that see, caused this tree to be cut down. Garmon vowed revenge; but, before he put his threat into execution, the bishop was warned in a vision that his death was nigh, and that he who threatened him would succeed him in his bishopric. Accordingly he seized Garmon, and ordained him deacon. When Garmon recovered from his astonishment, "God who had directed the whole affair, so touched his heart, that upon the death of Amator, a few days afterwards, he was chosen to succeed him, and made his life a model of the episcopal character." In allusion to this legend St. Garmon is

represented as a bishop, with dead or hunted beasts lying around him.¹

St. Garmon had been bishop ten years, when, about 420, the Pelagian heresy disturbed the church in Britain; and, according to Constantius of Lyons, a deputation was sent from thence to solicit the aid of the Gallican bishops. A synod was convened, at which it was determined to send over Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes.² The account given by Prosper Aquitanus,³ that the mission was sent by Pope Celestine, at the instigation of Palladius Diaconus, seems improbable, as the Pope was then unfriendly to the Gallican Church, which he accused of semi-Pelagianism, and therefore would hardly send deputies from thence.

St. Garmon is called son of Rhedyw, or Ridigius, an Armorican prince, and uncle of Emyr Llydaw. He and his companion Lupus are represented as braving the sea at an inclement season.⁴ During their voyage a fearful storm arose; billow after billow dashed over the frail bark until it well nigh sank; St. Garmon slept, the tempestuous gale rocking him in gentle slumber; but on the sailors awakening him, the bishop rose and called all to join him in prayer, when immediately the thunders ceased, the winds were hushed, and the waves lulled into calm. Having landed in Britain, the bishops held a conference at St. Alban's with the Pelagian doctors, which Fuller tells us, "by God's blessing was marvellously powerful to establish and convert the people." A small chapel at St. Alban's was afterwards dedicated in the name of St. Germanus.

According to Matthew of Westminster, Germanus and Lupus arrived in Britain A.D. 446, and, two years after-

¹ Compare Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Introd. p. 28.

² Lupus, or in Welsh Bleiddian, was brother to Vincentius Lirinensis, and husband of Pimeniola, the sister of Hilary, Archbishop of Arles.

³ Mon. Hist. Brit. p. lxxxii. 1.; and Rees, *Welsh Saints*, pp. 119, 120.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Eccl. i.* p. 17.

wards, they were present at that victory which is still commemorated by a pyramidal stone on Maes Garmon, or the field of Germanus. In Rymer's *Fædera*, i. 443, the battle is said to have taken place about the year 447. Although the Saxons are not here mentioned as engaged in the battle, and their introduction by Vortigern is dated in 449, there is some reason to think, with Archbishop Ussher, that the invaders, termed by Fuller "straggling volunteers," may have been Saxons, who, before the invitation of Vortigern, made inroads on the coasts. We learn from Ammianus Marcellinus⁵ and other writers, that they were in the habit of making frequent incursions into the island; and, even before the Romans resigned their sway in this country, they found it necessary to appoint an especial officer to watch the motions of the Saxons, who was called "*comes littoris Saxonici per Britannias*."

By Nennius the reign of Vortigern is placed about the year 440,⁶ the legendary Hengist and Horsa in the year 447, and the mission of St. Garmon about that period. According to the cursory account given by Bede, the arrival of the bishops took place some years before that of the Saxons,⁷ probably in 429, and the arrival of the Saxons in 450.⁸ He alludes to the defeat of the "*Saxones Pictique junctis viribus*."

Constantius of Lyons, who wrote the life of St. Garmon within thirty-two years of the saint's death, gives the date of the Victoria Alleluatica as A.D. 420, and he further says that the battle was fought between the Britons and "a crowd of pagan Picts and Saxons." Probably it was on this authority that the date of 420 was inscribed on the monument erected by Mr. Nehemiah Griffith, of Rhûal.

⁵ Lib. xxvi. c. 4; Mon. Hist. Brit. p. lxxxiii.

⁶ Hist. Brit. xxviii.

⁷ Eccl. Hist. i. 17.

⁸ Eccl. Hist. i. 15. So Florence of Worcester begins his Chronicle with this event in the year 450, but building upon Bede.

Ad Annum

C C C C X X

Saxones Pictiq. bellum adversus
 Britones junctis viribus susceperunt
 In hac regione, hodieq. Maes-garmon
 Appellat⁹: cum in prælium descenditur,
 Apostolicis Britonum ducibus Germano
 Et Lupo, Christus militabat in castris:
 Alleluia tertio repetitum exclamabant;
 Hostile agmen terrore prosternitur;

Triumphant

Hostibus fuis sine sanguine;
 Palmâ Fide non Viribus obtentâ.

M. P.

In Victoriæ Alleluaticæ memoriam

N. G.

M D C C X X X V I.

If we may trust our Bede, he describes minutely (book i. ch. 20) the Lenten season of humiliation as over, the solemnities of the paschal festival as duly celebrated in a church formed of interwoven branches of trees ("frondibus contexta") and flowers of the forest. The Britons had both sought the charm of the presence of the Gallican bishops, and many of them had seized the opportunity of being baptized. The stream of the Alyn is flowing past, and the army halts on its banks. The spot where the sacred rite was administered may be imagined as near Rhûal; and the more so, if we accept the conjectural etymology of the opposite mansion-house, Gwysaney, as a corruption of Hosannah. Fuller at least, following Ussher, says, "the good bishop chose a place of advantage near the village called at this day by the English Mold, by the British Guid-cruc, in Flintshire, where the field at this day retains the name of Maes Garmon."⁹

The Christians, clad in the snow-white robes worn by the newly baptized soldiers of Christ, (*recens de lavacro exercitus*, says the good Bede,) filed up the hill overlooking the lovely vale of Mold. Information arrived

⁹ Fuller, Church History, i. p. 30. A well on the spot called Ffynnon Gwaed (or Bloody Well) is mentioned in the *Cambro-Briton* for August, 1820, p. 140.

that the foe was approaching, having been on the watch for an unguarded moment. There was still time for the bishop to summon the Christian army to "a place of advantage." Just sworn soldiers of a heavenly king,—their bodies still sparkling from the bright baptismal stream,—who can wonder at the glorious victory achieved over their pagan enemies?

St. Garmon instructed his men to take up the words he should utter, and at a given signal the triumphant shout of "Hallelujah" echoed through the vale. The cry was taken up from the opposite heights, and the effect of this Hallelujah, uttered by many voices, was such a panic, that the enemy fled without striking a blow. In the confusion which followed, many were drowned in the river Alyn, "lately the Christians' font, now the pagans' grave."

The church of Llanarmon, in Iâl, Denbighshire, is believed to commemorate the spot where the Easter festival was solemnized by the bishop in the wattled fabric. In Leland's days pilgrimages were made to this spot on the vigil of St. Egidius, and costly gifts offered.¹

The first mission of St. Garmon lasted about two years. It is worthy of note that the ecclesiastical discipline of the church in Britain underwent some important changes during this mission of St. Garmon. Very few, if any, churches in Wales are traceable to a higher date than his first visit; till that period the clergy resided chiefly in towns with their bishop, and from thence visited their flocks. As, however, a decree had been made at the Council of Vaison, in Gaul, A.D. 442, "that country parishes should have presbyters to preach in them as well as the city churches," it was natural that the Gallican bishop should introduce the change into Britain. Ussher mentions that, in an anonymous treatise written in the eighth century, St. Garmon is said to have introduced the Gallican liturgy into this country.²

We do not wish to detract from the good deeds of this saint, when we gravely view the unlikelihood of

¹ Pennant's Tour in Wales, i. p. 380.

² Collier, Eccl. Hist. i. p. 112.

his having been the founder of the monastic institutions of Lllancarvan and Caerworgorn. The inconsistency of statements bearing on this point, as narrated in *Achau y Saint*, leave little choice as to a conclusion. He is said in one place to have appointed Iltutus principal, and Lupus (or Bleiddian) bishop, of the college of Caerworgorn. Genealogies prove that Iltutus was too young at that time, and he may rather be said to have lived some eighty years afterwards. He was a soldier, not an ecclesiastic, in his early youth. The *Book of Llandaff* states that Iltutus received his appointment from St. Dubricius,³ who lived in an age succeeding that of Germanus. Therefore, unless we imagine an appointment of Dubricius by St. Garmon to the see of Llandaff, we must consider the Welsh records on this point incorrect.

According to Constantius, Germanus visited Britain a second time, A.D. 449, accompanied by Severus, Bishop of Triers. Archbishop Ussher calculates that this second mission took place A.D. 447. In allusion to this event we may quote from an ancient poet:—

“Tu que O, cui toto discretos Britannos
Bis penetrare datum, bis intima cernere magni
Monstra maris :”⁴

We are told that great success attended this mission of St. Garmon, and that the strength of the Pelagian heresy was so diminished that it never rose to power again.

Among the legendary traditions recorded by Nennius, and others, connected with his second visit, (although Ussher attributes it to his first mission,⁵) is the following:—

Benlli ab Benlli Gawr, a chieftain, refused hospitality to the bishop; but Ketelus, or Cadell Deyrnllug, his swineherd, killed his only calf, with which he kindly

³ “A Dubricio Landavensi episcopo in loco, qui ab illo Lan-iltut, id est Ecclesiâ Iltuti, accepit nomen, est constitutus.”—Ussher from the *Registum Landavense*. Note in Rees’ *Welsh Saints*, p. 123. See the arguments there.

⁴ Ericus Antissiodensis in Vita S. Germani, iv. 3, § 118. Acta SS. die 21 Julii, T. vii. p. 343, ed. Bolland.

⁵ De Primordiis, cap. xi.

entertained the bishop and his companions. The legend adds that the next morning the calf was found restored to life by the side of its mother. Also, that Benlli was deposed by the bishop, and the swineherd succeeded to his territories, which afterwards passed to his descendants. Such a story can gain but little from the supposed corroboration that one of the hills in the Clwydian range is called still Moel Fenlli, or Benlli's hill, remarkable as a strong British encampment. In this district, which might have been part of the possessions of either Cadell or Benlli, there is a church called Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, also a chapel, subject to the church of an adjoining parish, called Llanarmon Fach.

Far more striking than the above is the pretty story given by Nennius,—(§ 39, ed. Stephenson,) of the guilty Vortigern's being denounced and excommunicated by St. Garmon and all the clergy ("Regem corripere venit cum omni clero Britannico"). Considering the crime ascribed to Vortigern, we here see that the influence of the clergy, even in its most arbitrary acts, was used on the side of morality and Christian virtue. It is also pleasing to notice that when the old king fled to lay his "grey discrowned head," first in the recesses of North, and then of South Wales, the persevering saint is represented as following him into both his wild retreats, and exhorting him to a tardy repentance,—"*Solito more S. Germanns eum secutus est, et ibi jejunos cum omni Clero tribus diebus totidemque noctibus mansit;*" and it is only on the continued obduracy of the old king, who had apparently returned to druidical superstitions, that the fire from heaven is represented as falling and consuming the tyrant and traitor, with his faithless wives, and unhallowed race.—(Nennius, § 47.)

Having settled Britain in good order, St. Garmon returned to his own country, when his aid was called for by the inhabitants of Brittany, to avert a great danger. The renowned general Aëtius had ordered Eoctor, king of the savage tribe of the Alani, to punish the people of this province on account of a rebellion. The holy bishop fears no danger, but shielded only by his grey hairs and his

sanctity, he passes safely through the pagan host, and stands before their king. Eoctor was going to ride on, but Germanus held him back. Such boldness astonishes the barbarian—he pauses, and promises to spare the province until the bishop can obtain pardon for the people from the imperial government. Germanus hastened to Italy to gain this forgiveness. On his way he joined a company of artizans who had been labouring in foreign countries. A lame old man, heavily laden, was too weak to cross a stream with the rest of the party, so the bishop, having first conveyed the baggage over, returned and carried the old man himself.

When the bishop was coming out of Milan, where he had been preaching, alms were begged of him by the poor. Turning to the deacon who accompanied him, he inquired what sum they had remaining. He was answered, “only three gold pieces.” “Then give the whole sum.” “Whence shall we get food to day,” inquired the deacon? The bishop repeated his wish, replying that “God will feed his own poor.” The deacon, with worldly prudence, kept back a piece secretly. As they journeyed on, two horsemen overtook them to crave a visit from Germanus, in the name of a great landowner, who with his family were in affliction. His companions entreated the bishop not to turn out of his way, but he made answer, “the first thing with me is, to do the will of my God.” When the messenger understood that the bishop was going with them, they gave him the sum of two hundred solidi (a gold coin in those days worth 17s. 8d.) which had been sent for the use of the bishop. Turning to the deacon he said, “take this, and understand that you have withdrawn a hundred such pieces from the poor, for had you given the three gold pieces, the rewarder would have given us to-day three hundred solidi.”

At the imperial court of Ravenna, Germanus received universal respect, and easily gained the request which was the object of his visit. The Empress Placidia sent the bishop at his lodgings a silver vessel of costly provisions, in return for which he sent her a wooden dish containing such coarse bread as he was accustomed to eat. The

empress valued it as a precious memorial, and had the platter enchased in gold. The bishop divided the provisions sent him among his attendants, but retained the silver dish that he might use it for the benefit of the poor.

During his stay at Ravenna, while discoursing with the bishops on religious topics, he said, "Brethren, I give you notice of my departure from this world. The Lord appeared to me last night in a dream, and gave me money for travelling. When I inquired the object of the journey, he answered, 'Fear not; I am not sending thee to a foreign country, but to thy fatherland, where thou wilt find eternal rest.'" He would not listen to the interpretation which the bishops tried to give, for he said, "I know *what* fatherland the Lord promises his servants." To this fatherland he was soon removed, on July 31st, A.D. 448.⁶

The following churches in England and Wales are dedicated in the name of this saint:—

Llanarmon in Iâl, Denbighshire; Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, ditto; St. Harmon's Radnorshire; and Llanfechan, Montgomeryshire. The chapels are the following:—Llanarmon under Llangybi, Caernarvonshire; Bettws Garmon under Llanfair Isgaer, ditto; Capel Garmon under Llanrwst, Denbighshire; and Llanarmon-Fach under Llandegfan, ditto. The ancient Cathedral of the Cornish Britons, as well the Cathedral in the Isle of Man, were dedicated in his name: Germansweek, Devon; Selby Abbey, in the joint names of SS. Mary and Germanus.

It may be worth adding, that there is not the slightest authority for Mr. Algernon Herbert's strange opinion, ascribing to St. Garmon an esoteric Druidism under the veil of Christianity. On the contrary, his denunciations, both of the Pelagian doctrines and of Vortigern, place him in the strongest opposition to whatever traces of Druidism may have survived in Britain in his age. And although he would not, as a Gallican, have favoured the pretensions of Augustine in a later age, he comes down

⁶ St. Germanus died at Ravenna, on a mission to Aëtius in behalf of the people of Brittany.—Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 21. Compare Neander's *Christian Memorials*, p. 344, ed. Bohn.

to us as a fair representative of the ecclesiastical sentiment of his time, and as having lived in the fullest communion with the Catholic Church. He is not mentioned by Gildas or his biographer; so that the stories in Nennius are the earliest native insular accounts of him. Upon these, and upon the broken narrative in Bede, with the aid of his Gallican biographer Constantius, and the brief, but suspicious, notice in Prosper Aquitanus, all the later authorities have built whatever history or legend attaches to this celebrated name. We may deduct what we please on the score of legendary imagination; but the churches dedicated in the saint's name remain as a memorial of the important part which he played, although a Gallican bishop, in the ecclesiastical history of Great Britain.

EMILY OCTAVIA WILLIAMS.

Rhûal Isa, July, 1858.

Obituary.

SINCE the publication of our last Number, another of the oldest friends of the Association has been taken away from us, through the decease of Archdeacon WILLIAMS, of Cardigan. We owe it to his memory to say that he was one of the earliest promoters of the Cambrian Archæological Association, and that he often took an active, always a cheerful, part in the proceedings of our Annual Meetings. His contributions to the memoirs of our Society are well known to members; and though they have given rise to much controversy, yet at least they testify to his hearty good will towards the promoting Welsh archæological studies. The Archdeacon was one of the few remaining members of a school of antiquaries intermediate between such as Davies, of the *Celtic Researches*, and the archæologists of the present day; and it is no small testimony to the activity of his mind, that he always kept up in his reading with the current of modern researches, though his early training did not allow him at all times thoroughly to appreciate it. We hope that a detailed account of his long literary life will be given to the world by some of his friends; but we cannot miss this opportunity of expressing our

satisfaction at the circumstance, that the good sense and learning of the Archdeacon did not allow him to fall into all those wild extravagances in Celtic literature and history, with which some writers still ignorantly disgrace our country. The Archdeacon lived amidst much controversy; indeed, he never so thoroughly enjoyed himself as when wielding his pen against some literary antagonist. But he had this admirable quality, that however high controversy might run,—however much he might himself suffer in the war of words,—he never lost his temper,—he never bore malice. Without making pretence to the shallow name of a patriot,—a word prostituted to the most sordid of purposes,—he was a real and earnest lover of his country, always ready and anxious to labour for its welfare, and doing no little to promote its intellectual advancement. We shall often miss the Archdeacon;—we shall always think of him, and the “days of auld langsyne,” with regret;—still, there will remain a feeling of pleasure whenever his memory comes to mind; for we cannot forget his cheerfulness, nor the honest heartiness with which he would put his vigorous shoulder to the wheel, and help our Association up the hill. He was sure to infuse life and spirit into our Annual Meetings whenever he attended them; and although many members might dispute his opinions, all the Society will be sorry to learn the decease of their good old friend and fellow archæologist.

An excellent portrait-bust of the Archdeacon has been taken by Mr. Edwards, of 40, Robert Street, Hampstead Road, one of the most promising sculptors that have come forth from the Principality.

Sir JOSEPH BAILEY, one of our former Presidents, has also passed away from among us. His kindness will not be forgotten by those members who were present at the Brecon Meeting of our Association. Sir Joseph had the merit of setting an excellent example to landowners, in the care he took of the various antiquarian remains extant upon his extensive possessions. He knew their value, and he never willingly allowed them to be injured. We can only express the hope that his heir will follow the same laudable course of action, and that other gentlemen with large landed estates in Wales will take effectual measures for handing down unimpaired to future generations the archæological treasures which they possess in these our own days.

Correspondence.

CASTELL CARREG CENNEN, CAERMARTHEN.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I have read the account of Carreg Cynhen Castle, by the Venerable Archdeacon Williams, inserted in the October Number of 1857, at page 335 of the Journal, with which I was much gratified; but having myself made some notes upon the subject as far back as the year 1806, or 7, when upon an excursion to visit that remarkable fortress, I am induced, on a reference to those memoranda, to differ upon some points with the learned author.

I feel convinced that the orthography of the name as Carreg Cennen is erroneous; it should be as the peasantry of that quarter pronounce it, Carreg Cynhen, *i. e.*, the rock of strife or contention, which would render the etymology purely British, and quite appropriate, without having recourse to the Gaelic *Cen*, or any such informal term to elucidate the meaning; for I perfectly agree with the archdeacon that the Gael, or his invading and predatory associates, the Norsemen and Danes, were never the first settlers in this part of the island, and that in their incursions they rarely penetrated so far inland. I have in a former Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* given my reason for thinking that the term *Gwyddel* is not to be taken invariably as a proof of the advent of the Gael in such localities, but, more generally, as a designation of places abounding in wild brushwood;—not as to the inhabitants, who were only described under a similar term, to distinguish them from their neighbours of more open situations.

It also strikes me that this stronghold of Carreg Cynhen existed long before the period of any written records, and was occupied by the Cymry, and fortified, as was then invariably the fashion of that prehistoric time, by ramparts of uncemented stone of megalithic structure, which served, at a later date of the Romanized Britons, to build the castle, the dilapidated remains of which now crown the rock, and I imagine that it was then that the term *Castell* was added to the original name of Carreg Cynhen.

We likewise find, particularly along the coast of Pembrokeshire, where the names of places give evidence of the invasion of Gaelic, or Irish Celtic tribes, that the fortifications they made for protection differed from such structures erected by the Britons as a repelling force, by being constructed invariably of earthen ramparts, instead of the Cyclopean stone defences of the natives. Along this section of the coast most of such Irish remains are nearly destroyed by the incursion of the sea, clearly proving that, at a very early period, there was an extensive tract of flat land which afforded easy means of landing an invading force. The centre of all these earthworks, without a solitary exception, is gone, leaving only in some a section of the formidable

aggers thrown up on the land side, which evince considerable skill on the part of these invaders.

An inspection and an account of these coast camps would form an interesting paper for the future pages of the *Journal*, and I wish some of our archaeological associates, possessed of more means and better health than I now can boast of, would undertake the task.

The name of Caermarthen, given as Maridunum, from the Latin *mare*, does not seem so appropriate as that of *Muridunum*, which is frequently met with in old documents, and, if I recollect rightly, also in the Itinerary of Antoninus; this is exactly in accordance with the old Welsh name of *Caer Murddin*, i. e., the encampment of the walled town; it does not appear that it was situated in the marsh below it, which, had that been the case, might have given it the addition of *mare*, but upon the hill above the site of the present town; there is reason therefore to think that, originally, it was a *caer* only, or encampment of some extent, probably surrounded by an agger bristling with wooden stakes, long before the *murddun*, or walled fortress was erected. To have placed it in the marsh below the present town of Caermarthen would have been the most ineligible spot possible, in short, unwholesome, and at all times subject to sudden floods and high tides; therefore, the probability is, that it was never chosen for habitable purposes, nor are there any remains now extant, or found in the mud-deposit of that swamp, to prove to the contrary.—I remain, &c.,

JOHN FENTON.

Bodmôr, near Glyn-y-mêl,
October 29, 1858.

SARN ELEN.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—Do the Roman roads in the Principality, to which the name of Sarn Elen is popularly assigned, belong to a single line of road, or is the term applied indiscriminately? I observe that the name is given to nearly the whole line of road connecting CONOVIVM in the north, with NIDUM in the south. Does it exist in other parts of the Principality?—I remain, &c.,

W. B. J.

University College, December, 1858.

ST. BRIAVEL'S CASTLE.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I have just received the last Number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and having read your paper on St. Briavel's Castle, I take the liberty of directing your attention to an error into which you, and most others since the days of Camden, have fallen, respecting the history of that place. Camden spells the place Breulais, on what authority I should like to know; he then quotes Giraldus Cambrensis,

and asserts him to state that "Mahel, son of Milo Fitz-Walter, was killed there by a stone falling on his head," &c. Now Giraldus does not speak of St. Briavel's at all; he is writing about Breconshire, and narrates what happened at what he calls *Brendlais* Castle, which is Brynllys Castle, in Breconshire, pronounced *Bruntlys*, or as nearly as possible as he spells the name. Camden, clearly on account of his way of spelling, confuses the two names, and every writer since his time has followed in his track without consulting the original authority. Sir R. Hoare, in his edition of *Giraldus*, points out the error, but all the county historians and topographers have copied one another without examining as to the correctness of the statement, and thus the error has been widely spread and perpetuated. Would it not be as well to notice this, and correct the error, if possible.—I remain, &c.,

OCTAVIUS MORGAN.

The Friars, November 6, 1858.

BISHOP MORGAN OWEN OF LLANDAFF.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—In the last Number of your Journal, "An Antiquary" has given a copy of an inscription on a slab in Myddfai Church, Caermarthenshire, wherein is stated that Dr. Morgan Owen, Bishop of Llandaff, "*Departed this Life the 5th day of March in the year of Our Lord 1644.*"

By the memoir of the celebrated Rhys Prichard, vicar of Llandovery, appended to the new edition of the *Canwyll y Cymry*, published this year, it will seem that Bishop Morgan Owen was alive the 2nd of December, 1644, when he was appointed one of the executors of the will of his intimate friend the vicar; and on the 14th of the same month, Bishop Owen made his own will, which was proved the 12th of December, 1645.

It is stated by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, that Bishop Owen died at Glasallt very suddenly, on hearing of the beheading of his friend and patron Archbishop Laud; and it is traditionally recorded that he was sitting in the kitchen at Glasallt when some one brought in the news that the archbishop was actually put to death, which intelligence affected him to that degree that he rose up from his chair and dropped down dead. As Archbishop Laud was executed on the 10th of January, 1645, the date given on the slab as March 5, 1644, is evidently incorrect, unless the date was intended to be March 5, 1644-5, and the stone-cutter neglected to carve the latter figure. But even with all the want of communication between Wales and the English metropolis in those days, it can scarcely be credited that the bad news could have been nearly two months travelling from London to Caermarthenshire.

The above slab was not set up until 1728, after the death of Henry Owen, Esq., ten years previous to which Browne Willis published his "Survey of the Cathedral Church of Llandaff," in which it is stated

that Bishop Owen died in January, 1644-5, and was buried in Myddfai Church, "on the north-side of the high altar, having erected over him an altar monument *without any inscription*, now very ruinous, above which were *painted* his arms against the wall, which are also defaced."—I remain, &c.,

Tonn, November 3, 1858.

W. REES.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, BRECON.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—It is stated in the last volume of your Journal, (p. 426) that the church of Christ College is to be restored, being intended for the chapel of the new Grammar School to be erected by the Governors. I sincerely hope that any design for the Grammar School, will involve the preservation and restoration of the decanal residence, now degraded into a tannery. The refectory of the Dominicans, which forms a portion of the edifice, and is now divided horizontally by one or two floors, would make an excellent school-room, dining-hall, or library. I think it becomes the Cambrian Archæological Association, which numbers among its patrons and officers more than one of the Governors of Christ College, to interpose in order to prevent the destruction of the building in question.—I remain, &c.,

W. BASIL JONES.

University College, December 8, 1858.

WELSH AND BRETON LANGUAGES.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—In a work published in the last century, the writer, a Welshman, describing his progress through Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire, says:—"At Swansea we met with some French Bretons. We could understand something of their language. We found they were very passionate amongst themselves." Can any of your readers inform me whether the Welsh and Bretons can understand each other, as it is a point I have long been curious to find out?—I remain, &c.,

S. S.

LLANDDEWI YSTRADENNI, LLANFIHANGEL RHYD IEITHON.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—I shall consider it a very great favour if you can assist me to any reliable information on the following subject.

In the year 1718, Adam, Bishop of St. David's, certified the value of livings "not in charge" in his diocese. Among others, I find Llanddewy Istradenny certified at £14 per annum; and Llanfihangel-rhid-Ithen similarly certified at £14 per annum.

The bishop's certificate, unfortunately, does not state the *source* of these sums, and more unfortunately, they are in abeyance, as I have not been able hitherto to trace them.

I have ventured to trouble you on the subject, thinking it just possible that some book may pass through your hands likely to assist me to the information I am seeking. Is there anything in Dugdale's *Monasticon*? If so, it would be probably under Llanbister, because the livings are in the patronage of the Chancellor of the Collegiate Church of Christ at Brecon, and the stall of the chancellor is that of "Llanbister," who, or his lessee, takes the rectorial tithe of Llanbister, and the whole tithe of the churches appurtenant to his stall of Llanbister. Apologizing for this trouble,—I remain, &c.,

EDWARD POOLE,
Incumbent of Llandewi and Llanfihangel.

Goidva House, Pen-y-bont, Kington, Radnorshire,
27th November, 1858.

[We recommend our correspondent to peruse Williams' *History of Radnorshire*, just published by the Association.—ED. ARCH. CAMB.]

RUNIC STONES, ISLE OF MAN.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—In No. IX. of your Journal for 1857, p. 77, you notice the proposed work of the Rev. J. G. Cumming, on "The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man." At p. 5 of that work, which has since been published, it is stated that "about six years ago, when the church of St. John the Baptist was pulled down, three, if not four, of these monuments (Runic) were found in the old walls, of which only *one* has been preserved." As this statement will be likely to mislead other writers on this subject, and cause regret to the antiquary that such relics should be totally lost, I beg through the medium of your Journal to correct the error which Mr. Cumming has fallen into, for want of due inquiry in that quarter where the fact could have been ascertained. I was present at the taking down of the old chapel, and gave orders to the foreman of the works to be very careful to preserve any relics that might be found, either in the old walls or in the foundations. This was accordingly done, and the only Runic stone found was the one figured in Mr. Cumming's work, and which is now standing on the south side of the tower of the present new chapel. From my constant attendance during the time of removing the old, and rebuilding the new chapel, it was not possible that these relics, if they had turned up, should have escaped my notice, and I felt some little disappointment that no more remains were found.—I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM HARRISON.

Rock Mount, St. John's, Isle of Man,
25th October, 1858.

ARCH. CAMB., THIRD SERIES, VOL. V.

L

RICHARD DAVIES, QUAKER, OF WELSHPOOL.

To the Editor of the Archæologia Cambrensis.

SIR,—There is an autobiography, entitled, “An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services, and Travels of that ancient servant of the Lord, Richard Davies, (the Quaker of Welshpool,) with some relation of Ancient Friends, and of the spreading of Truth in North Wales,” which is very interesting, and though six editions of the little volume have been printed, it seems scarce, and I take the liberty of making an extract therefrom, and placing the same at your service.—I remain, &c.,

M.

In page 182, he (Richard Davies) says:—

“In the beginning of the year 1682, my dear friend, Charles Lloyd, and I went to visit Friends in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, &c., and came through their meetings to London, before the Yearly-Meeting. I acquainted my friends, George Whitehead and William Penn that I intended to go to Lord Hide, to acknowledge his kindness for his letter on my behalf to Bishop Lloyd. George Whitehead said there was some service to be done for our suffering Friends in Bristol; and it was thought convenient that three of the City and three of the Country should go with the said sufferings, and desire the kindness of Lord Hide, to present them to the King. The three Friends for the Country, were Charles Lloyd, Thomas Wynne, and myself; for the City, George Whitehead, Alexander Parker, and one more. Our Friend, G. Whitehead, told me that our countryman, Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State, was so cross and ill-humoured, that when the king was inclined to moderation and tenderness to suffering Friends, He often stopped and hindered the relief intended them. When We went to Whitehall, We waited a long time before We could speak with them, they being upon a Committee a considerable time; but We had sent in by the Doorkeeper to acquaint Lord Hide that We were there, and in time They sent for us in; the Secretary looked grim upon us. I went to Lord Hide and acknowledged his kindness for his letter on my behalf to the Bishop. He told me that I should tell the Bishop there would be liberty of Conscience in England. I told him I did say so, and did believe it would be so in God's time. Secretary Jenkins spoke in a scornful manner, and asked me what was Welch for a Quaker; I answered him *Crynwr Crynwyr*, it being the singular and plural number; but the Secretary said We had no Welch for it, for there were no Quakers in the Roman's days. My Friend, Charles Lloyd, answered, If thou didst ask my friend the question aright, He hath answered thee right; for there is English, Welch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for a Quaker. So the Secretary said,—Sir, I understand Welch pretty well, and English, and Latin, and Greek; but if you go to your Hebrew, I know not what to say to you. I left my friend Charles Lloyd to engage with this peevish countryman, and presented Lord Hide with a long list of the names of Men, Women, and Children, in their several prisons at Bristol. I desired him to be so kind as to present their sufferings to the King, which He said He would, and our friend George Whitehead, spoke farther to him; then I turned to the Secretary, who directed his words to me, and spoke to him thus in Welch:—‘*Mae yn ddrwg gennif fod un o hiliogaeth yr hen Fruttaniaid, yr rhai y dderbiniodd y Crefydd Cristianogol yn gyntaf yn Loeger, yn erbyn yr rhai sydd gwedi derbyn y wir Cristianogol Crefydd yr awr hon.*’ The English being thus,—I am sorry that one of the stock of the Ancient Britons, who first received

the Christian faith in England, should be against those who have received the true Christian faith in this day. He replied He was not against our Friends, but He said our Friends gave their votes for the election of Parliament men that were against the King's interest. I told him it was our birthright, as We were freeholders and burgesses, to elect men qualified to serve both the King and Country; but how they were corrupted when they came within these walls I knew not. The Secretary would have engaged farther with me in a dispute about Religion. I told him He was an ancient man, and that they had been a long time then upon their business, and if He would be pleased to dismiss us then, and appoint what time We should some morning wait upon him, We would, if He pleased, spend an hour or two with him in discourse about Religion; upon which, He took off his hat and thanked me very kindly for my civility; but We heard no more of him about the dispute. Upon the whole, G. Whitehead told me He was more moderate to Friends afterwards than He had been before."

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 40, vol. iii. Third Series, p. 215.—CIRCLE, WAT'S DYKE.—The stones near Wat's Dyke, which "An Antiquary" mentions, do not appear to be the *disjecta membra* of a cromlech, but are the remains of a large circle, two stones only of which remain. They are on the property of Mr. Eyton, of Leeswood Hall, who has very properly forbid their removal. They give the name of Garreglwyd to the farm on the other side of the road. A MEMBER.

N. 41.—INNER TRENCH, WAT'S DYKE.—In the portion of Wat's Dyke near the Padeswood station, on the Mold line, an inner trench on the western side of the Dyke is visible. Being densely planted, it is not easy to ascertain how far the trench extends. No such remains of a trench on either side exists in the portion of the Dyke that runs through Garreglwyd farm. It is, I believe, well known that this part of Wat's Dyke is universally by the peasants called that of Offa. M. A.

Query 81.—LLAN AND CIL.—It has been stated that the Welsh "Llan," and the Irish "Kil" are identical, and that no place in Wales which has "Kil" for the first syllable of its name, as "Cilcen," &c., ever has the term "Llan" also. What the proper meaning of "Cil" (*Wallice*) is I do not know, unless it means a cell, hollow, &c. If so, is there any identity between this term and the Irish "Kil?" Is "Llan" ever used except before the name of a saint?

SAXONICUS.

Q. 82.—ANCIENT PARSONAGES IN WALES.—Can any plan be set on foot to ascertain what primitive parsonages remain in Wales, especially North Wales? One, so called "the Parsonage," exists in

Efenecht parish; another, now a kind of back-kitchen or out-house of the modern parsonage, remains at Bettws Gwerful Goch. Can any of our clerical members give us any information on this point.

A MEMBER.

Answer to Query 45, vol. ii. Third Series, p. 75.—NAME OF GREAT BRITAIN.—Great Britain was so called for the first time in the second year of James I., when an indenture was executed, November 11, 1604, for a coinage, wherein the king's new titles were to be adopted, MAG. BRIT. being substituted for ANG. SCO. M. A.

Miscellaneous Notices.

CAERNARVON CASTLE.—The works of reparation and excavation in this building are continuing steadily, under the superintendence of John Morgan, Esq., the deputy constable. Sufficient funds for these purposes are raised by the fixed payment of fourpence for all strangers at the castle gate; and the subject is of such importance, in its bearing on the question of practically maintaining edifices of this kind, that we shall revert to it on a future occasion.

DENBIGH CASTLE.—We wish that we could hear of the mayor and corporation of Denbigh, who, we believe, now rent the castle and its precincts from the Woods and Forests, or from the lessee under the crown, having determined on repairing and propping up those portions which threaten ruin. We have been given to understand with regret that this fine old building is likely to be made subservient to the purposes of an eisteddfod next summer.

CROES ERGAIN, RHUDDLAN.—It gives us great pleasure to state that Mr. Shipley Conwy has given orders that this ancient cross and tumulus shall be protected for the future from further damage. The tenant farmer, not knowing its value, had begun to cart away part of the tumulus for agricultural purposes; but on the circumstance being made known to his landlord, immediate steps were taken to prevent the process of desecration and needless destruction. This is an excellent example, and ought to be made known widely. It does Mr. Shipley Conwy very great credit. We hope on a future occasion to furnish members with an engraving, and some account of the cross and tumulus.

Reviews.

ETHNOGÉNIE GAULOISE. By ROGET, Baron de Belloguet. 1 vol. 8vo. Paris, 1858. Part I.

We welcome the appearance of this first portion of a learned work; it is one that comes right home to the heart of the Cambrian Archæologist, for it is composed not only of critical memoirs on the Cimmerii, the various populations of ancient Italy,—Umbri, Ligures, &c., as well as of Gaul,—Belgæ, Celtæ, &c.; but it also contains what the author calls a Gaulish Glossary; and in this, to our mind, consists its chief value. It is one of those books that should be classed and read along with similar productions of German writers, such as Zéuss; but its appearance is another slap on the cheek for Celtic scholars in Wales, inasmuch as it shows them the way along a path wherein many of themselves might have led. It is, however, a valuable contribution to the common stock of early European archæology, and confers great credit on the learning and diligence of its author.

M. de Belloguet, in his Introduction, thus enunciates three primary propositions, which he considers sufficiently proved to serve as points of departure for his further researches:—

“1st,—The Indo-European origin of the languages commonly called Celtic, and still spoken at the present day;—that is to say, the Gaulish or Cymric, of which the Bas-Breton or Armorican is a dialect; and the Gaelic, divided into Irish, Erse, or Highland Scotch, and the Manks, or provincial dialect of the Isle of Man. The Cornish, or Cymric dialect of English Cornwall, became extinct during the last century.

“2ndly,—The close relationship of these two languages, the Cymric and the Gaelic, testifying to the common stock from which they have sprung.

“3rdly,—The identity, if not absolute, at least original, of one or the other of these languages with the Gaulish or Breton, spoken at the time of the Roman Conquest.”

He adds that he considers these three circumstances as establishing philologically the oriental origin of the Celts, the unity of race, and direct affiliation of the people who spoke, and who have preserved, the British and Gaulish idioms. He then reviews the opinions of modern German critics upon these points, adverts to Latham to oppose him, and especially disputes the conclusions of Holtzmann and Mone upon the Celtic question. We do not propose to give even a summary of the author's discussions on this part of his subject; they turn altogether upon details, and nothing but a perusal of the original pages will suffice to put our readers in possession of the facts; but his description of the general state of the controversy is sufficiently amusing to justify us in translating the following passage:—

“French, Belgian, German, English and Irish writers have entered the arena; some of them taking up the name of the Celts as a title of honour; others repelling it with contempt;—the enthusiasts wishing to prove that the

whole of Europe, Rome, and Greece herself, owed their primitive populations, and even the gods they worshipped, to this race alone;—the exclusives, on the other hand, refusing to acknowledge as brethren neighbours whose language, institutions, and remote traditions, attested their close affinity with those who repudiated them. From Camden and Cluvier, down to Amédée Thierry, without speaking of Pezron, Pelloutier, and Spener, I have been tossed about in my researches from Joseph Scaliger to Pontanus; from Fréret to Sharon Turner; from Dom. Martin to Schæpflin; from E. Davies to Betham; and from Betham to Chalmers; from Mone to Holtzmann, and from him again to Brandes and Gluck,—all in the midst of an ardent, obstinate, hand-to-hand fight, in which I have met with the great Leibnitz, Niebuhr, and Schafarik; geographers, such as Mannert, Ritter, and Ukert; or philologists, such as Adelung, J. Grimm, Pott, and Bopp. If our Celto-maniacs have wished to make all Europe speak Bas-Breton, other writers, carried towards the opposite extreme, have resolutely contested with this idiom, and its brethren of England and Ireland, their Celtic origin, and have changed into old Teutonic the languages of Brennus and Vercingetorix. The exaggerations of the former had at least some excuse before the discovery of Sanscrit, and the explanation of the astonishing relationship which they had so correctly observed, from the time of Edward Lhwyd, as existing between the relics of Gaulish and other Indo-European languages, German, Greek, Latin, &c. At length, however, the Natural History of Man called up this immense suit before its own tribunal; and the science of Prichard, of Edwards, of Nott, and of Gliddon, mingled its decrees with those which had already been pronounced in the names of History and Philology. Piercing through the Celtic epoch, Science has given us, upon the ancient territories of the Gauls and of Caledonia, at a distance where the vision of historical criticism fails, glimpses of people anterior to the Gaels, who had hitherto been considered the earliest inhabitants of the West. These Pre-Celtic populations of Wilson, and Boucher de Perthes, these Kymbo-Cephalic and Brachy-Cephalic races have not yet come out from the arcana of Geology,—and we will leave them there, since we have enough to occupy us on the domain of Historical Sciences."

M. de Belloguet divides his Gaulish Glossary into two classes: (1.) Words which ancient writers have handed down, with their significations. (2.) Ditto, ditto, without significations. He arranges the first of these classes in chronological sections, such as words expressly given as Gaulish by Greek and Latin writers, from the earliest periods to the eighth century,—words not expressly mentioned as Gaulish, but probably intended as such by similar writers; words supposed to be Gaulish for other reasons; the Malbergic Glosses, and the Barbaric words of Virgil the Grammarian. The second class is subdivided into words, other than proper names; characteristic elements of the names of men, people and places; proper names explained by curious circumstances; and notes on the Formulæ of Marculfus of Bordeaux. He comments upon each word at some length, quoting the author, and bringing in the aid of comparative philology. We give an example of the author's mode of treating words from each class:—

Class I.—" (Plin. Hist. Nat. xxii. 2.) *Glastum*, woad, or pastel, a plant, the juice of which gave a black dye:—*Vitrum* gave a blue colour.—(Cæs.

v. 14.) It was with this juice that the Britons tattooed themselves. Apuleius gives this word as merely a Latin word with the various reading *Glutam*, or *aluta*.—(Cap. 69, Edit. 1788.) In Cymric and Armorican, *Glas*, blue, glaucous-blue: in Irish, pale green, or pale-coloured: in Highland Scotch or Erse, *Glasdhaid*, greyish. Compare Cymric *Glaslys*, *Gweddlys*, pastel; and in Cornish, *Glesin*."

"Class II.—*CAMULUS*: a surname of Mars in several inscriptions,—(Orell. 1977, 1978,) and used as his only name in an inscription on a monument where Arduinna (Diana) is represented with Jupiter, Mercury, Hercules and Camulus, or Mars.—(Dom. Martin, *Rel. des Gaul.* i. 480.) It has been erroneously supposed that this term is of Sabine origin, whereas one of these inscriptions is Remish, and the other of some citizens of Reims, in honour of Tiberius. It is also a decidedly Gaulish element of the name *Camulogenus*, and of others discovered in inscriptions, such as *Andecamulos*, *Andecamulenses*, *Camulia*, *Camuloqnata*, &c. The word *Cam*, curved, which is common to five languages, as Zeuss informs us, is not satisfactory as far as signification is concerned: but we have in Irish *Cam*, brave, powerful, quarrel, duel; in Erse, *Cama*, brave; in Cymric, *Cam*, bad, and *Camu*; in Armorican, *Camma*, to bend (the bow). Mone composes *Camulus* of the Irish *Cam* and *Ull*, grand, proud.—(*Celt. F.* 214.) In ancient Britain we find *Camulo*, or *Camulodunum*, and *Camulossesa* of the Ravenna Geographer."

This Glossary comprises in all 321 words, and an excellent prospectus of the whole is afforded by the arranging of them in two tables of parallel columns, where they are entered according to the dialects to which they are supposed to belong. The author informs us that out of all these 321 words, there are only twenty-one which cannot be connected with others in modern Celtic dialects, directly or indirectly; and he concludes by expressing his conviction that he has proved the identity of Cymric or Gaelic with ancient Gaulish. These tables are particularly valuable for reference; and M. de Belloguet, who quotes our recent best book on Cymric literature, Nash's *Taliesin*, shows by them, and indeed by the whole work, how thoroughly he has inquired into the subject of which he treats. We add some of his final words:—

"To give a summary of my opinion, I think that the ancient Gaulish, with its varieties, or, if it is preferred, its dialects, still floating about in the state of *primitive promiscuousness* described by Renan, (*Semitic Languages*, i. p. 90,) formed one and the same language, which was related at the same time to both the Cymric and the Gaelic of the modern Celtic,—more nearly to the former by its vocabulary, to the latter by the endings, or inflexions, which it possessed in common with its Indo-European sisters. This language, therefore, was positively Celtic, and not Teutonic. Such is the two-fold conclusion to which we have come from the philological researches collected in this first portion of our work."

We shall look out for the *second* portion with considerable impatience.

MEMOIR ON A "CROMLECH-TUMULUS" IN WILTSHIRE. By J. THURNAM, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.

We have been very tardy in noticing an interesting paper by Dr. Thurnam, on a "Cromlech-Tumulus," near Littleton Drew, North Wilts, originally published in the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*. Immense pressure of matter in our portfolio is our only excuse, and we are now glad of an opportunity to call the attention of members to this subject; for it may throw light on similar tumuli in Wales, and may so far aid the study of comparative archæology. This tumulus, mainly composed of loose stones, which was known as long ago as Aubrey's time, but has, within the last few years, been completely excavated by Mr. Poulett Scrope, forms one, it appears, of many of the same class, scattered over that part of the country. It is ovoidal in shape, about 180 feet long, by 90 in greatest breadth, and was formerly nine or more feet high. It has been found to contain a central interment, in a cist on the level of the ground, or floor of the tumulus, midway between two walls of loose stones running athwart it; a single skeleton of a young man, with a small flint arrow head, a *lancet*, at it has been conjectured, lay within. Four other large cists, about ten feet long by four feet wide, and two in depth, have been found round the southern curve of the tumulus, containing from seven to ten skeletons each, those of women and children generally by themselves. On the surface of the tumulus, near the eastern end, stand two upright stones, with a third, once on their top, but now fallen off and lying against them—a dolmen in fact—which the author infers to have been not used as a sepulchral chamber, but as an altar. The ground underneath this dolmen has been found to contain fragments of black Roman pottery, some fragments of animal's bones, and one or two rude flakes of flint. The tumulus stands about 100 yards from the great Roman road, called the Fosseway, extending from Devonshire to Lincolnshire. Such is the tumulus, such its contents; the account of them will serve (1.) as a basis of comparison with other long barrows, or ovoidal tumuli, in Wales, and there are many such; (2.) as leading to a suspicion that the construction of this tumulus, and the erection of the dolmen, with the use of flint flakes, &c., was *posterior*, or at least, *not anterior*, to the Roman period—a point of no small importance. Dr. Thurnam argues rather on the contrary side, and thinks the Roman pottery to be of later date than the tumulus; but there is nothing to show this, and we are rather inclined to accept its presence, even near the surface of the tumulus, as a proof of contemporaneous deposition.
